

THE TOMBS AND OBITS OF THE
BYZANTINE EMPERORS
(337–1042)

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With An
ADDITIONAL NOTE

by
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I

THE once long and splendid series of Byzantine imperial tombs is represented for most visitors to Istanbul by four immense porphyry sarcophagi which stand in the courtyard in front of the Museum of Antiquities.¹ They are not the total of those known to exist. A fragment of the side of another and two fragments of a lid are preserved in the museum itself, and there are two in the church of St. Irene and one in the yard of the mosque Nuruosmaniye.² A French traveller in the eighteenth century saw in the grounds of the Seraglio three further sarcophagi or parts of sarcophagi—two of porphyry and the lid of another made of verd antique—which have since disappeared.³ Their identity is not in doubt, though the gold and precious ornaments that once adorned them were sent to the melting pot in 1196 by Alexius III⁴ and none of them is accompanied by any imperial inscription or epitaph. Porphyry was too costly a material and too hard to work for sarcophagi of such size to have belonged to lesser persons, and there is an exact correspondence between the number actually surviving plus the two discovered in the eighteenth century and that of the imperial sarcophagi described by the written sources as being of porphyry.⁵ The remaining tombs in the inferior grades of marble—green Thessalian, white Proconnesian, variegated Sagarian, and so forth—with which the emperors had to content themselves when porphyry was no longer available cannot at present be identified.

The great majority of the imperial sarcophagi once stood in the mausolea of the church of the Holy Apostles, which from the fourth to the eleventh century

¹ I should like to express my thanks to Cyril Mango for his help with this paper. He read the first version of it and provided me with much helpful information and criticism, while at a later stage, to use the happy phrase coined by my friend Ralph Giesey, he "exorcised the final draft of many defects of fact and fancy." He is not to be regarded as necessarily endorsing all the views put forward in it.

² A. A. Vasiliev, "Imperial Porphyry Sarcophagi in Constantinople," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 4 (1948), 1-26; R. Delbrueck, *Antike Porphyrwerke* (Berlin-Leipzig, 1932), 221-27; J. Ebersolt, *Mission archéologique de Constantinople* (Paris, 1921), 1-14.

³ A. M. Schneider, "Das Regium sepulchrum apud comitatum zu Konstantinopel," *Nachrichten d. Akad. d. Wiss. in Göttingen*, Phil.-Hist. Kl. (1950), 15-21; C. Mango, "Three Imperial Byzantine Sarcophagi Discovered in 1750," *infra*, p. 397 ff. Schneider's attribution of one of them to Valentinian I on the ground that the Emperor was buried in the precincts of the palace—this is his explanation of the phrase *apud comitatum*—is invalidated by the fact that he was really buried in the Church of the Holy Apostles (*infra*, p. 42), and Mr. Mango shows conclusively that the lid of verd antique belonged to the tomb of Manuel I Comnenus.

⁴ Nicetas Choniates, Bonn ed., 632. He was raising money to buy off the Emperor Henry VI. The Crusaders of 1204 also rifled the interiors of the tombs, which Alexius III had left intact (*De Signis Constantinopolitanis*, chap. 2; *ibid.*, p. 855). Cf. Vasiliev, *art. cit.*, 15-16.

⁵ Vasiliev, pp. 8-10, argued that nine porphyry sarcophagi were recorded in the sources and nine, or rather fragments of nine, were still in existence. This is not quite correct, as Mr. Mango points out (*art. cit.*, p. 399 f.). One item in Vasiliev's list is a fragment that was probably not part of a sarcophagus at all, while the inclusion of the two sarcophagi formerly in the Seraglio grounds would bring the total known in modern times up to ten. This would correspond to the nine enumerated in the Greek lists plus that of Valentinian I, which is mentioned only by Leo Grammaticus and by the *Necrologium imperatorum* to be discussed below. The *Necrologium*, it is true, adds two more to the list of porphyry tombs, those of Anastasius I and Justin I, but in both cases wrongly; see *infra*, pp. 45-46.

served as the chief repository for the mortal remains of the emperors.⁶ This church was situated in the western part of the city, standing on the main street which connected the Forum of Theodosius and the Charisian Gate (Edirnekapi) and which corresponded to the modern Fevzi Paşa cad. It has now totally disappeared. It was already in a bad state of repair at the date of the Turkish conquest, and Mehmet the Conqueror had it demolished to clear the ground for the great mosque of Mehmet Fatih which bears his name. For its appearance and ground plan we have to rely mainly on the account in Procopius' *De Aedificiis*,⁷ for it was largely rebuilt by Justinian, and on the elaborate description composed in the late twelfth century by Nicolas Mesarites of which Professor Glanville Downey has recently given us a new edition and translation.⁸ There is also a metrical account by the tenth-century poet Constantine the Rhodian,⁹ and later visitors describe it at varying length in their lists of "things seen" at Constantinople.

The circumstances of its foundation and early history are extremely obscure, since from the fourth century onwards there were two rival traditions on the subject, one attributing the church to Constantine the Great and the other to his son and successor Constantius II. Professor Downey, who studied the question at some length ten years ago,¹⁰ was strongly of the opinion that the builder of both the mausoleum of Constantine and the church itself was Constantius II; the rival tradition goes back ultimately to the last chapters of Book IV of the *Vita Constantini*,¹¹ and these are so full of improbabilities that they must be regarded as part of the pious embroidery which was very early tacked on to such sections as may be the genuine work of Eusebius. The problem is too complicated for discussion here. The contradictions of the

⁶ Good summary and bibliography by R. Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'Empire byzantin*, 1ère partie. *Le Siège de Constantinople et le Patriarcat Ecuménique*, iii: *Les églises et les monastères* (Paris, 1953), 46–55. The chief studies are A. Heisenberg, *Grabeskirche und Apostelkirche: Zwei Basiliken Konstantins II. Die Apostelkirche in Konstantinopel* (Leipzig, 1908), and, for the plan, K. Wulzinger, "Die Apostelkirche und die Mehmedije zu Konstantinopel," *Byzantion*, 7 (1932), 7–39. Cf. also the description of J. Ebersolt, *Constantinople: Recueil d'études d'archéologie et d'histoire* (Paris, 1951), 31–43.

⁷ *De Aedificiis*, i.4.9–24. The Loeb edition (Procopius, *Works*, vii.48–54) contains useful notes. The fact that Procopius makes no allusion to the mausoleum constructed by Justinian would indicate that this was later in date than his rebuilding of the church, and bears out Glanville Downey's view that Book I of the *De aedificiis* was composed comparatively early in the reign, before the death of Theodora, even though the work as a whole was completed only in or after 559/60 ("Notes on Procopius, *De Aedificiis*, Book I," in *Studies presented to David Moore Robinson*, ed. G. E. Mylonas and D. Raymond, 2 [Saint Louis, 1953], 719–25).

⁸ "Nikolaos Mesarites: Description of the Church of the Holy Apostles at Constantinople," *Trans. American Philosophical Society*, N.S., 47 (1957), 855–924. This work was first discovered and published by Heisenberg in the book referred to in note 6. Its particular importance lies in its account of the mural decorations of the church.

⁹ E. Legrand, "Description des oeuvres d'art et de l'église des Saints-Apôtres de Constantinople: Poème en vers iambiques par Constantin le Rhodien," *Revue des études grecques*, 9 (1896), 32–65, esp. lines 425 ff. Cf. T. Reinach, "Commentaire archéologique sur le poème de Constantin le Rhodien," *loc. cit.*, 91–103, and O. Wulff, "Die sieben Wunder von Byzanz und die Apostelkirche nach Konstantinos Rhodios," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 7 (1898), 316–31.

¹⁰ Glanville Downey, "The Builder of the Original Church of the Apostles at Constantinople," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 6 (1951), 51–80.

¹¹ The chapters are as follows: 58–59 (building of the church of the Apostles), 60 (building of the mausoleum), 64–67 (death and lying-in-state), 70–71 (burial by Constantius in the mausoleum). Heikel's text (in vol. 1 of the works of Eusebius [Leipzig, 1902]) is preferable to that in Migne.

narrative and descriptive sources are so complete and their authority so evenly balanced that there seems little hope of settling the question decisively; it is one of those on which scholars must agree to differ. Though the tendency in recent years has been towards the rehabilitation of the *Vita Constantini*—a recently published papyrus fragment, for example, has conclusively proved the authenticity of one of its documents¹²—my personal view is that the last chapters, which are those relevant here, are in the main fiction and that the church of the Holy Apostles was built by Constantius II. The records of the translation there of the relics of St. Timothy in 356 and of those of St. Andrew and St. Luke in 357 and of the consecration of the church in 370¹³ come from a work which has drawn this kind of information from contemporary sources and is in a high degree trustworthy. On the other hand, I incline to the view that the mausoleum was the work of Constantine. It is incredible that an emperor with such a passion for building should have neglected to undertake what was, after all, a normal imperial activity, and the assertion of Philostorgius that the mausoleum was erected by Constantius II¹⁴ is outweighed by the more modest and credible statement in Julian's Panegyric of Constantius that the latter did much to adorn his father's tomb.¹⁵ Its description in the *Vita Constantini*, however, must be written off as fable.¹⁶ The twelve "coffins as it might be sacred pillars" (θήκας ὡσανεὶ στήλας ἱεράς) which flanked the sarcophagus of Constantine correspond to nothing about which we hear from subsequent writers, and it is difficult even to envisage what such a phrase, which sounds like a stage direction for Mozart's Magic Flute, can mean.¹⁷ Eusebius' account of Constantine's funeral, though containing authentic and traditional elements,¹⁸ is probably also to some degree fabulous, though there is no convincing evidence in favor of the rival tradition that the Emperor was first buried in the Church of St. Acacius and transferred to the mausoleum only at a later date.¹⁹

The church as rebuilt by Justinian was cruciform in shape, with a great central cupola and subordinate domes over each of the arms of the cross. Procopius says that its plan was the same as that of the Church of St. John at Ephesus, the ruins of which still survive.²⁰ The tombs were, with few exceptions,

¹² A. H. M. Jones, "Notes on the Genuineness of the Constantinian Documents in Eusebius's Life of Constantine," *Journ. of Ecclesiastical History*, 5 (1954), 196–200. Downey has not, I think, done justice to Baynes and others who have maintained the essential authenticity of the *Vita* against the criticisms of Crivellucci, Pasquali, and Batiffol in the past and Grégoire and Seston in more recent years.

¹³ *Chronicon Paschale*, a.356, 357, 370 (Bonn ed., i.542, 559).

¹⁴ *Hist. eccles.*, iii.2 (ed. J. Bidez [Leipzig, 1913] 31–3). It must be remembered that we have the text only in Photius' summary.

¹⁵ Oratio, i.12 (ed. J. Bidez in *L'Empereur Julien. Oeuvres complètes*, I (i) [Paris, 1932], 28–9).

¹⁶ Cf. Downey, *art. cit.*, p. 69, note 58, where he rightly makes the point that the compromise solution—a building begun by Constantine and completed by his son—while quite reasonable and likely in itself, cannot be squared with the actual assertions of the *Vita Constantini*.

¹⁷ Some commentators have supposed them to be statues of the Apostles, but ἤκαι could not possibly be interpreted in this sense.

¹⁸ P. Franchi de' Cavalieri, "I funerali ed il sepolcro di Costantino Magno," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire (Ecole française de Rome)*, 36 (1916–17), 206–61. Cf. Downey, *art. cit.*, p. 71, note 59.

¹⁹ Cf. Downey, *art. cit.*, pp. 74–6, who is inclined to credit this tradition.

²⁰ *De Aedificiis*, v. 1. 6; For a detailed account of St. John's, see *Forschungen in Ephesos* (Österreich. Archäol. Institut), IV 3, *Die Johanneskirche* (Vienna, 1951).

not in the body of the church but in two mausolea—the Greek texts use the classical word ἡρώων, while the Latin *Necrologium* uses *sacrarium* to describe them—built in its precincts. The southern one of the two, domed and circular in shape (σφαιροειδῆς καὶ κυκλικός), and dominated by the tomb of Constantine which is described by Buondelmonti as *immensus*, was known as the Mausoleum of Constantine. One is tempted to envisage it in terms of the Pantheon at Rome, with its great sarcophagi of the monarchs of the house of Savoy, but it was much smaller in size and it had what Mesarites terms “stoae angles” (περικύκλω στωϊκάϊς γωνίαις κατατεμνόμενος), so that the general effect would not have been that of a purely circular building, whether open as in the Pantheon or upheld by a complete circle of columns as in the rotunda of Santa Costanza at Rome.²¹ The northern mausoleum was that of Justinian, cruciform in shape—probably with very short arms—and having an apse to the east; it was perhaps a little larger than that of Constantine, at least if the number of tombs it finally contained is any indication of total area. Their relationship to the main church is not very clear; certainly it was not as simple as that of, e.g., the Old and New Sacristies with the Medici tombs to the Church of San Lorenzo at Florence. The mausoleum of Constantine was entered from the western side, since we are told that it had sarcophagi to its north, east, and south; when the Emperor visited it on the feast of St. Constantine, he proceeded to the left (i.e. north) and east of the *bema* of the main church.²² The mausoleum of Justinian must have been situated to the east of the north transept, the entrance being from the transept.²³

These two mausolea held the great majority of the tombs, but from various sources we know of one emperor (Valentinian I) and several imperial relatives—Gratian's wife Constantia, Maurice's father Paul—who were buried at the Holy Apostles²⁴ and are otherwise unaccounted for. Presumably, despite legislation against the practice,²⁵ their sarcophagi stood in the main body of the church with those of the patriarchs of Constantinople.²⁶ There were, in addition, two small “stoas”²⁷ of which the northern one held the tombs of Julian

²¹ The most useful discussion of the actual appearance of the mausoleum is by R. Egger, “Die Begräbnisstätte des Kaisers Konstantin,” *Jahreshefte des österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts in Wien*, 16 (1913), 212–30, though I am not convinced by his tentative reconstruction of its ground plan on p. 216. He gives a number of plans of comparative buildings (the mausoleum of Diocletian at Salona, Santo Stefano rotondo at Rome, etc.).

²² Bonn ed., p. 533. The mausoleum adjoined a wooden staircase that led up to the gallery of the church (*ibid.*, p. 538).

²³ *Infra*, p. 30.

²⁴ *Infra*, notes 77, 107.

²⁵ *Infra*, note 76.

²⁶ That the patriarchs of Constantinople, at least in the fifth century, were normally interred in the church we know from Pulcheria's letter of 451 to Pope Leo I describing how she had caused the body of Flavian to be brought back to a tomb there (Mansi, *Concilia*, vi. 101). Similarly the body of St. John Chrysostom was reburied there by the care of Theodosius II (Theodorus Lector, ii. 65, in Migne, PG, 86 [1], col. 216). St. Ignatius, on the other hand, was buried elsewhere when he died in 877 (*infra*, note 132). The tendency was to regard it specifically as the burying place of the emperors; cf. *infra*, p. 25.

²⁷ The records term each a *στοά*, which at this time meant any building or part of a building with pillars supporting a roof. See G. Downey, “The Architectural Significance of the Use of the Words *Stoa* and *Basilike* in Classical Literature,” *Amer. Journ. of Archeology*, 41 (1937), 194–211.

and his successor Jovian and the southern one those of Arcadius, his wife Eudoxia, and his son Theodosius II. Their position and arrangement are discussed *infra*.

Our fullest and best account of the imperial tombs is that compiled at the direction of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus and copied after his death, with other miscellaneous papers he had accumulated on various topics, as a kind of appendix, into the manuscript of the *De Ceremoniis*.²⁸ The Emperor's intention was evidently to compose a kind of brochure *περὶ τῶν τάφων τῶν βασιλέων*, and with this in mind he caused to be listed the imperial tombs in all the churches of the city. It is in two main sections, each one subdivided according to location and with the tombs in each division arranged in chronological order. The plan is as follows:

I. The Church of the Holy Apostles.

1. Mausoleum of Constantine.
2. Mausoleum of Justinian.
3. The two "stoas."

II. Other churches.

1. Monastery of the Augusta. (Justin I and Euphemia.)
2. St. Mamas. (Maurice and his family.)
3. Staurakion. (Stauracius and Theophano.)
4. The Lady Euphrosyne. (Constantine VI and his family; Anna, daughter of Theophilus.)
5. Gastria. (Theodora, wife of Theophilus, and her relations.)
6. St. Euphemia in Petrion. (Basil I's relations.)
7. St. Michael Promotou. (Maria, daughter of Basil I.)

There are three obvious gaps: tombs in the main body of the church of the Holy Apostles, tombs of usurpers or of emperors who were regarded as such,²⁹ and tombs of emperors who were buried at Prinkipo or elsewhere outside the city. The second of these groups of omissions was no doubt deliberate and the third may be due to the fact that the survey was never completed, but the first is difficult to explain. Perhaps the tombs involved proved too difficult to separate from those of nonimperial personages who were interred in the church.

We possess two versions of this *Catalogus sepulchrorum*. The fuller one, which can conveniently be termed L from the location of the chief manuscript

²⁸ The best discussion of these addenda is that of J. B. Bury, "The Ceremonial Book of Constantine Porphyrogenetos," *English Historical Review*, 22 (1907), 207-27. The list of tombs, which the table of contents shows to have followed on a list of emperors which has disappeared—there is a lacuna in the Leipzig MS—is discussed on pp. 217-9, 223-5. In the table of contents (Bonn ed., i. 513) the *Indiculus imperatorum* is numbered cap. 42 and the *Catalogus sepulchrorum* cap. 43, but Reiske in his text has dropped the number for the missing chapter and renumbered the *Catalogus sepulchrorum* as cap. 42. This will somewhat confuse references in the future, for it should ultimately be possible to recover the text of part of the *Indiculus* from the recently discovered palimpsest in the Patriarchal Library at Istanbul; see C. Mango and I. Ševčenko, "A New Manuscript of the *De Cerimoniis*," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 14 (1960), 248-9, and *infra*, "Additional Note," p. 61 ff.

²⁹ E.g. the tombs of Romanus I and his family in the monastery of the Myrelaion; see *infra*, pp. 28-29.

(Leipzig), is that in the *Book of Ceremonies*.³⁰ The shorter one, which is rather later in date, forms part of *Recensio C* of the curious guidebook to the sights of the capital which bears the title Πάτρια Κωνσταντινουπόλεως.³¹ The earliest version of this work, without any list of tombs, was composed towards the end of the tenth century, while recension C dates from the reign of Alexius I Comnenus (1081-1118).³² The list of tombs which it contains is known in slightly divergent versions, which their latest editor,³³ using manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Nationale, has christened C (= Colbertinus 3607, now Fonds grec 1788) and R (= Cod. Reg. 3058, 4, now Fonds grec 1783). Though both manuscripts are of the fifteenth century, the versions themselves date from the eleventh. Of these various texts L is the fullest, but since it was copied into the manuscript of the *Book of Ceremonies* during the reign of Romanus II (959-63), it ends with Constantine VII, whose name evidently represents an addition to the list prepared at this monarch's direction before his death. Texts C and R contain only a selection of the earlier tombs, but continue the list from Constantine VII onwards, adding information concerning those of Nicephorus Phocas († 969), Theophano († *post* 976), and Constantine VIII († 1028), thus completing the total of those in the Mausoleum of Constantine.³⁴ Bury, in discussing the list in the *Book of Ceremonies*, believed that it was condensed from a somewhat longer version (A) which no longer survives, but it is more likely that A existed in little more than note form and that L, C, and R each represent this in expanded and somewhat more grammatical versions. A person compiling such a list of tombs would initially do so in the form of brief notes, particularly when changes in the sequence would have to be made later, and if he made the list *in situ*—it is clear from many details in the wording that this was in fact done—he would tend to follow the order in which the tombs were arranged in the church. A comparison of the three texts indicates that while L is the most complete so far as the total of entries is concerned, C and R may preserve more accurately the actual wording of the original notes.

The lists of tombs were evidently compiled on the basis of information available in one form or another in the churches where they were situated. The

³⁰ The only complete ed. is that by J. J. Reiske in the Bonn corpus ed. of the *De Ceremoniis*, ii. 42 (vol. i. 642-9), with invaluable notes by the editor. A new edition of the section dealing with the church of the Holy Apostles has been published by Glanville Downey in his article, "The Tombs of the Byzantine Emperors at the Church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople," *Journ. Hell. Studies*, 79 (1959), 27-51, with useful introduction and notes.

³¹ Ed. T. Preger, *Scriptores originum Constantinopolitanarum*, 2 (Leipzig, 1907).

³² *Ibid.*, p. xvff. Since the *Catalogus sepulchrorum* does not form part of the original text of the *Patria*, it is omitted from Preger's edition.

³³ Downey, *art. cit.* (*supra*, note 30). The fact that C and R formed part of the revised version of the *Patria*, which was overlooked by Downey, was pointed out by A. Maricq, "Notes philologiques: 4. Les sarcophages impériaux de Constantinople," *Byzantion*, 22 (1952), 370-1; there are consequently further manuscripts not used by Downey. Text C was originally printed by C. Du Fresne Ducange, *Constantinopolis Christiana* (= part 2 of his *Historia Byzantina* [Paris, 1680]), book 4, 109-110. Text R was printed by A. Banduri, *Imperium orientale* (Paris, 1711), I (2), 121-4, with commentary in vol. 2, 807-16; the text and notes are reproduced in Migne, PG, 157, cols. 725-40. My citations are from Downey's edition, which gives a more accurate text than the earlier versions and is accompanied by a valuable discussion of the relationship between them.

³⁴ The two other emperors who died in the intervening period, John Zimisces († 976) and Basil II († 1025), were buried in the chapel of the Saviour in the Chalkê and in the church of St. John in the Hebdomon respectively. See *infra*, note 103, and Appendix, note 195.

existing sarcophagi, like most of those which have survived from antiquity, bear no mark of identification. Some of those which have not survived would have had a simple statement of ownership, like the γλοσσοκόμος Ἀλεξάνδρου δομεστίκου which text L records as marking the tomb to which the bodies of Justin I and Euphemia were transferred by Leo VI.³⁵ In other cases there would have been a metrical epitaph inscribed either on the sarcophagus itself or on a plaque accompanying it. This was the case for the tomb of Julian,³⁶ for that of the widow of Maurice and her family in the church of St. Mamas,³⁷ and for that of Basil II in the church of St. John in the Hebdomon.³⁸ Whether there were also epitaphs which conveyed the kind of precise information sometimes found on those of the later empire—the day and month of death and the exact length of life or reign³⁹—we do not know; it may well have been that there were.⁴⁰ But there must also have been many sarcophagi which were identifiable only through traditions handed down from one custodian to another and not always capable of authentication from the records of the church. Such mixtures of documented and traditional identifications are found for any series of monuments in the possession of a corporate body, whether Hapsburg tombs in the Augustiner-Kirche at Vienna or portraits of early Masters or benefactors in an Oxford or Cambridge college.

Mistakes in the *Catalogus sepulchrorum* might result either from incorrect initial identifications, which would mislead the compiler of the original notes, or inadequate descriptions in the latter, which would mislead the copyists of L, C, and R. Errors which can be shown to have arisen in both these ways do in fact occur. An example of the first kind is that of the tomb of Eudocia, wife of Justinian II, for the compiler of the notes, faced with *Eudokia uxor Iustiniani* or some similarly worded identification, understood it to refer to a wife of Justinian I, and entered it after the name of Theodora when he came to rearrange his entries in chronological order.⁴¹ Inadequate identifications of the tombs of the three Constantines who in turn succeeded Heraclius have likewise spread confusion through all the versions of the *Catalogus*. Errors of the second type have affected the entries regarding the tombs of Theodosius I and Michael III. The tomb of Theodosius I in the mausoleum of Constantine, listed correctly in L and R, is attributed to Theodosius II in C. As for that of Michael III, which occupies a different position in lists L and C—it is omitted from list R—it was probably overlooked in the initial survey and then inserted

³⁵ *Infra*, p. 46. It would probably be true to say that in antiquity the likelihood of a sarcophagus bearing a mark of identity is in inverse proportion to the importance of its occupant. Only a sovereign would take it for granted that his tomb would be generally recognized.

³⁶ *Infra*, p. 41.

³⁷ *Infra*, Appendix, note 88.

³⁸ *Infra*, Appendix, note 195.

³⁹ Cf. E. Le Blant, *Les sarcophages chrétiens de la Gaule* (Paris, 1886), 27 (*qui vixit ann. xlv, m. viii, d. xvi*), 105 (length of married life), 157 (*qui obiit xii kal. Februarias indic. undecima*). So in later times that for Charlemagne gave his age and length of reign and the exact day of his death (Einhard, *Vita Karoli magni*, chap. 31), and the metrical epitaphs composed by Paul the Deacon, Alcuin, and others sometimes managed to incorporate a few factual details.

⁴⁰ But Byzantine metrical epitaphs rarely condescended to details; see those collected by Cougny, in F. Dübner and E. Cougny, *Epigrammatum Anthologia Palatina*, 3 (Paris, 1890), p. 211 ff. (but cf. nos. 746, 748, 749).

⁴¹ Downey, "Tombs," 35, note on no. 20.

as an afterthought in the original notes at the bottom of the page and reduced to the single word Μιχαήλ. The copyist of L knew that it referred to Michael III; so he transferred it to the correct chronological place in the list and amplified its contents, explaining that the tomb had originally belonged to Justin I and Euphemia and had been brought to the church of the Holy Apostles by Leo VI. The copyist of C, puzzled by its identity and position, left it in its original place at the end of the list, so that it got mixed up with the additions (Romanus II, Nicephorus Phocas, etc.), and identified it with Michael II the Amorian. The copyist of R solved the difficulty by omitting it altogether.⁴²

II

In addition to the various versions of the *Catalogus* and the summary list of tombs given by Nicolas Mesarites,⁴³ there exists another list which has so far escaped the attention of Byzantine scholars. Less complete than the *Catalogus*, since it virtually limits itself to the tombs of the emperors, it is in one respect of much greater interest, for it gives the dates of death or deposition of every emperor from Constantine the Great († 337) to Michael V († 1042).

This list of obits, lengths of reigns, and tombs, which can be most conveniently termed the *Necrologium imperatorum*—it is really a *Necrologium imperatorum et catalogus eorum sepulchrorum*—is in Latin and dates in its final form from the thirteenth century, but goes back to a lost Greek compilation originally put together in the tenth century and continued in Greek down to the reign of Alexius Comnenus. It has survived as one of a group of sources dealing with the early history of Venice of which the best known is the *Chronicon Venetum*, otherwise called the *Chronicon Altinate*, of which Potthast unflatteringly said that he knew of no more extraordinary hotchpotch in the whole of historical literature. *Cum codices inter se minime congruant*, as Simonsfeld ruefully observed, it defies satisfactory editing, the reason being that it is really a collection of material—lists of doges, patriarchs, and bishops, histories of early Venice going back to Trojan origins, accounts of Venetian noble families, and so forth—and not a finished work. The only complete edition is that published by Roberto Cessi⁴⁴ under the title of *Origo civitatum Italie seu Venetiarum* and having as subtitle *Chronicon Altinate et Chronicon Gradense*, these being the names by which two of its major sections were described by their earliest editors⁴⁵ and under which they subsequently appeared in the

⁴² Downey, *art. cit.*, pp. 48–51.

⁴³ *Description*, chaps. 39, 40 (ed. Downey, pp. 891–3). This is only a selection, twelve from the Mausoleum of Constantine and six from that of Justinian, the remaining emperors being bluntly dismissed: “concerning the others, why should we care, since their memories are buried with them in their tombs.” The selection seems to have been made partly on aesthetic and partly on historical grounds, so as to include conspicuous tombs and well-known names. It is useful for ascertaining the layout of the mausolea.

⁴⁴ In the series *Fonti per la storia d'Italia* published by the Istituto storico italiano (Rome, 1933). I refer to this edition throughout. The *Necrologium*, with its preliminary *Series imperatorum Romanorum*, is on p. 102 ff.

⁴⁵ The *Chronicon Altinate* was first published, though incompletely, from manuscript S (see *infra* on the MSS) by A. Rossi in *Archivio storico italiano*, 8 (1845) 1–228, of which Book IV on pp. 116–29 consists of the *Chronicon Gradense*. The variant sections in D, the Dresden MS, were printed by F. Polidori in *Arch. stor. ital.*, *Appendice*, v (1847), 1–128.

Monumenta Germaniae Historica.⁴⁶ The literature on them is very extensive⁴⁷ but is almost entirely occupied with the question of how far they form a reliable guide to the early history of Venice, so that their short but very important Byzantine sections have been all but completely neglected.

In view of the complications regarding the text and the divergence between the different versions, it is necessary to explain briefly the manuscript tradition. The abbreviations used by Cessi for the different manuscripts will be followed, though in his edition these are not identified very clearly and it is sometimes difficult to see which version he is reproducing. His division of the text into three separate "editions" is also misleading, since it implies a more regular relationship and progression than in fact exists. What we have are simply varying versions from an apparently substantially larger number of similar collections, put together between the eleventh and the thirteenth century, that have perished. The earliest manuscript is Cod. Vat. Urbinatus 440, the main contents of which are the so-called *Chronicon Gradense* and the autograph of John the Deacon's *Chronicon Venetum*. It is of the first half of the eleventh century, while the others are all of the thirteenth.

The texts which are relevant to Byzantine history are two in number. They have only perfunctory titles or headings in the MSS, such as *Incipit hystoria Romanorum et imperatorum aliter*, which are of no use for purposes of identification. The first, which may be termed a *Series imperatorum*, is a straightforward list of Roman and Byzantine emperors with their lengths of reign. It is the only one that occurs in the eleventh-century MS just referred to, and it is reproduced with continuations in the thirteenth-century MSS. The second text, the *Necrologium imperatorum et catalogus eorum sepulchrorum*, is the list of obits and tombs of the emperors, with occasionally other details regarding their lives and reigns. It occurs only in the thirteenth-century MSS or in later copies of these. The three basic manuscripts are denominated by Cessi V (= Cod. Vat. lat. 5273), D (=Dresden F. 168) and S (= Seminario patriarcale, Venice, H. V. 44). The text of the *Series imperatorum* in V is described by Cessi as V^b and that of the *Necrologium* as V^a, but they are written in the same hand. Linked with them is another MS which Cessi terms V^u (= Cod. Vat. lat. 5269), which contains the *Series imperatorum* with a continuation which in the other three MSS is attached to the *Necrologium*. The two works are found in the following MSS and editions:

Series imperatorum

- a MS. U (s. xi). List of emperors running to the early eleventh century, but owing to the loss of some folios it ends with Probus.
Pertz, p. 38; Monticolo, pp. 180-1; Cessi, pp. 15-17 (*Lectio prima*).
- b MS. V^u (s. xiii). Same text, with minor variants, but running to Alexius I. Then provided with a continuation in another hand to Baldwin II

⁴⁶ The *Chron. Gradense* by Pertz in SS., 7 (1846), 39-45, the *Chron. Altinate* by Simonsfeld, *ibid.*, 14 (1883), 5-69. They are also conveniently available in the edition of G. Monticolo, *Cronache veneziane antichissime*, I (Fonti per la storia d'Italia. Rome, 1890).

⁴⁷ See Cessi's ed., p. vii, note 1. The most valuable study is H. Simonsfeld, *Venetianische Studien*. I. *Das Chronicon Altinate* (Munich, 1878).

of Courtenay (1237-61). This continuation is the same as that found in the S version of the *Necrologium*.

(*Text to Alexius I*) Monticolo, pp. 181-4; Cessi, pp. 15-23 (*Lectio altera*), with variants from V^b.

(*Continuation*) See *infra* under MS. S.

- c MS. V^b (s. xiii). Same text, with minor variants, but running to John II. Cessi, pp. 15-23 (*Lectio altera*).

Necrologium imperatorum

- d MS. V^a (s. xiii). Text in a single hand, ending with Alexius I. Cessi, pp. 102-114.
- e MS. D. (s. xiii). Same text, with a continuation from Manuel I to Henry I (1205-16), all in one hand. Polidori, pp. 47-56; Cessi, pp. 102-118.
- f MS. S. (s. xiii). Same text down to Alexius I, but with a different continuation from Manuel I to Baldwin of Courtenay (1237-61), all in one hand. Monticoli, pp. 184-7 (continuation only); Cessi, pp. 102-119.

The *Series imperatorum* can be dealt with briefly, since it is less important than the *Necrologium* and not primarily our concern. It is one of a very large number of similar imperial lists which go back to late antiquity and were continued in both east and west, in the east with the series of Byzantine emperors, in the west with kings of the Franks, kings of the Lombards, kings of Germany, emperors, and so on. Their filiations are usually difficult to work out, and only when they contain isolated entries of a local character or groups of regnal datings which seem unusually precise and reliable do they repay detailed study. The *Series imperatorum* in U ran to some date early in the eleventh century, when John the Deacon was working at his chronicle, and was then continued to the reign of Theodora (1055-6), since the form of words for Constantine IX (1042-55) is practically identical in versions V^a and V^b. In both cases, however, there has been a certain amount of rewriting of earlier entries, mainly no doubt in the form of marginal amplifications which have become incorporated into the texts as we have them today. The further continuations to Alexius I and John II are independent of one another and are often inaccurate in detail; they may have been kept up to date sporadically, but it is not impossible that they were written from memory while these particular sovereigns were on the throne. Although it is clear that the annalists knew some Greek words and often spelt names by ear as they had heard them in Greek (e.g. Nikeforus Votoniatus, Michael o Vriucas for ὁ Βρίγγας), there are no grounds for supposing that these lists are anything but Venetian in origin or had Greek prototypes behind them.

This is not the case for the *Necrologium*, where the background is entirely different. The *Series imperatorum*, in the form in which we have it, dates from the eleventh century and was committed to writing in Venice by a chronicler working on the history of the city. The *Necrologium imperatorum* is essentially

Greek. Though in its earliest form it must have been put together in the mid-tenth century and was then continued at Constantinople for over a hundred years, the Greek version ended during the reign of Alexius I, apparently with the notice of the First Crusade. Subsequently, during the period of the Latin Empire, it was found and translated, different copies being provided with different continuations, in one case down to the beginning of the thirteenth century, in the other for half a century longer. It was these thirteenth-century copies that found their way to Venice and were incorporated into the so-called *Chronicon Altinate*.

The text of the *Necrologium* falls into five distinct sections:

- I. *a* Julius Caesar (48-44 B.C.) to Diocletian (284-305).
b Julius Caesar to Constantius Chlorus (305-6).
- II. Constantine I (306-37) to Romanus II (959-63).
- III. Basil II (963-1025) to Constantine IX (1042-55).
- IV. Theodora (1055-6) to Alexius I (1081-1118).
- V. *a* Manuel I (1143-80) to Henry I (1206-16).
b Manuel I to Baldwin II of Courtenay (1237-61).

They are distinguished from each other by the nature of their information and the way in which it is set out. Sections II and III are by far the most important and are those with which we shall be mainly concerned.

Section I is a list of emperors and regnal years of the ordinary type, the length of reign being sometimes rounded off to the nearest year but in others giving months and days as well. Cessi treats the two versions, which can be conveniently described as I *a*, represented by MSS V^a and D, and I *b*, represented by MS S, as if they were merely variants of the same text, but, quite apart from the fact that one passes straight from Diocletian to Constantine while the other inserts a notice of Constantius Chlorus, there are too many discrepancies between them⁴⁸ for this to be possible. Version I *b* accords very closely with the *Series imperatorum* already discussed; version I *a* is independent, but very similar in character. Although there are many Greek counterparts to such texts,⁴⁹ it is not clear that either of them made up part of the original Greek text containing Sections II and III; they were probably added, by way of completing them, when these were rendered into Latin. Since the essential features of Sections II and III are the lists of tombs and obits, a work containing these could not have started earlier than Constantine the Great.

Section II, like Section I, gives the length of reign of each emperor, but it gives in addition (1) his obit or the day of his deposition, (2) his place of burial, and (3) the nature of his tomb; it often gives also (4) some account of the circumstances of his death or deposition, (5) the name of his wife,⁵⁰ sometimes

⁴⁸ E.g. V^a and D give Julius Caesar a reign of 4 yrs. 6 mos., S gives him 3 yrs. 7 mos.; V^a and D give Trajan's reign as 19 yrs. 6 mos. 15 days, S as 20 yrs. 11 mos. 15 days. These divergences are too great to be miscopyings of the same source.

⁴⁹ E.g. that incorporated in the *Chronographia* of Nicephorus, another printed by de Boor in his edition of Nicephorus, p. 222 ff., etc.

⁵⁰ As early as the ninth century, in the so-called *Chronographia* of Nicephorus (ed. de Boor, pp. 104-6), we find a list of empresses.

coupled with a statement as to whether she was buried with her husband or separately, and (6) any other striking particulars of the reign that may have occurred to the writer. The essential features, however, are the obit or date of deposition and the place and nature of the tomb. Apart from the first three entries (Constantine I, Constantius II, Julian), which start with the emperor's name, the regular formula in MSS V^a and D begins with the date—e.g. *Mense ianuarii, septima die, defunctus est Theodosius Magnus imperator*—but in S the order is reversed, so that the emperor's name precedes the date.⁵¹ Essentially all versions have the same text, differing only in the spelling of words and omissions or interpolations of isolated phrases. The last of the consecutive series of entries beginning with the formula *mense ... die ... defunctus est ... imperator* is that recording the death of Romanus II (959-63), and it is reasonable to conclude that the nucleus of the *Necrologium* was set down either in his reign, with the notice of his death and burial inserted when these occurred, or early in that of Nicephorus Phocas.

Section III runs from Basil II to Michael V, the reigns of Nicephorus Phocas and John Zimisce being noted but treated as part of that of Basil II and his brother Constantine VIII, as in constitutional theory they indeed were. The entry covering the years 963 to 1025 was evidently made shortly after the latter date and the additional information it gives—*Cretenses sub suo imperio misit; Barim, Calabriam subiugavit; Antiochiam Thyrium ac Syriam multasque alias civitates subiugavit; multaque victoriae suo tempore a Deo sibi concesse fuerunt*—and the phrases it uses—*cum prospera migravit ad Dominum*⁵²—disclose the writer's admiration for the great Emperor. For Constantine VIII (1025-8),¹ Romanus III (1028-34), and Michael IV (1034-41) there is a return to the old *mense ... die ... defunctus est* formula, the entries probably being made immediately after the death of each emperor, but with Michael V (1041-2) it is modified into an account of his misdeeds and his overthrow. The whole entry for the events of 1042 was evidently written while Constantine IX, *virtute ac nobilitate cum omni decoritate vultus et sapientia* (sic) was on the throne, the final note on his death and burial being added after 1055.

Section IV, the continuation from Theodora to Alexius I, marks a further change in the character of the entries. The list of emperors is complete and the lengths of their reigns are given, but the obits are omitted; the only date included is that of the accession of Alexius *in mense marcii*. The interest in tombs is maintained; we are told where Romanus IV, Michael VII, and Nicephorus III were buried. The section ends with an account of the successes of the Crusaders in capturing Antioch, Tarsus, Mamistra (*Manifesta*), Adana, Laodicea—the emphasis is perhaps less on the exploits of Bohemund and Tancred than on border cities familiar to the Byzantines which had only recently been lost—Jerusalem, and Jaffa. The three MSS all mention Alexius' association of his son with him as emperor, which took place in 1092, but D

⁵¹ Cessi, p. 104, note *aa*, modified by note *h* on p. 105.

⁵² Sic! The Latin throughout is very ungrammatical, partly because it seems sometimes to be a literal rendering from the Greek without much attention to the resulting sense.

and S both leave a blank for the years of their joint reign and for the length of Alexius' reign as sole ruler;⁵³ only V^a includes a statement that his reign previous to the coronation of John lasted 20 years and his total reign was one of 42 years 10 months. Both figures are so incorrect—they should be 11 years and 37 years 4 months respectively—that they probably represent a substantially later addition.

Section V is found only in D and S, the continuations being independent of one another, though both have in varying degrees endeavored to keep up the interest of the preceding sections in circumstances of death and burial. There are good grounds for supposing that these continuations were written at Constantinople and not at Venice, and mainly, if not entirely, as single units; they do not represent accumulations of separate entries made from time to time. Only if the continuations were written at Constantinople can one explain the number of local details that would not have been available elsewhere: the burial of Manuel II in a marble sarcophagus in the church of the Pantocrator,⁵⁴ that of Andronicus I, after being tortured to death in the streets (*in eupodromio*, i.e. in the Hippodrome), in the monastery of Emphoros,⁵⁵ that of Isaac II in the monastery of Pantanassa,⁵⁶ and so on. The composition of both continuations as single units at comparatively late dates would account for the number of regnal years which have been left blank and never filled in, and would also explain why they both ignore John II Comnenus, who died on 8 April 1143 of a wound received from a poisoned arrow while out hunting,⁵⁷ and begin with Manuel I, for this ruler's death in 1180 would have occurred not so long before the continuations were written.

The important sections of the *Necrologium*, apart from isolated details in the final continuations, are nos. II and III, and the evaluation of their contents is

⁵³ One might expect the sentence *regnavit solus ann . . .* to have been completed after the association of John II on the throne had been recorded, but a writer in the opening years of the twelfth century could not know whether John would survive his father, and whether, if he died before him, Alexius' sole reign would be resumed.

⁵⁴ Manuel died on 24 September 1180 and was buried in the Pantocrator, in a tomb of which we have a partial description (Nicetas Choniates, pp. 289–90, 332–3; cf. Mango, *art. cit.* [*supra*, note 3], p. 398 f.). By it was placed a slab of red marble which had been brought from Ephesus earlier in the reign and was reputed to be that on which Christ had been laid after the descent from the cross. Cf. Janin, *Les églises et les monastères*, 530–1.

⁵⁵ Andronicus I was put to death on 12 September 1185. His body was abandoned by the monastery of Emphoros (or Ephoros), close to the Baths of Zeuxippus, where it was ignominiously buried, his successor refusing to permit his interment in the church of the Forty Martyrs which he had intended should be his family mausoleum (Nicetas Choniates, pp. 460–1; cf. Janin, *op. cit.*, pp. 138–9, 499; the spelling *Emphoro* in the *Necrologium* resolves the doubt as to whether the monastery was identical with that in which a Ducas princess was buried).

⁵⁶ Isaac II died of shock a few days after the usurpation of Alexius V Murzuphlus on 28 Jan. 1204, apparently just before the murder of his son Alexius IV, which most sources ascribe to January but which—if his stated reign of 6 years 8 days is to be taken literally—took place on 8 February (Nicetas Choniates, pp. 743–4, 747; on Isaac's death, see Villehardouin, *La conquête de Constantinople*, chap. 223; ed. E. Faral, 2 (Paris, 1939), 23 and note 1). Isaac's burial at the Pantanassa is mentioned, so far as I know, by no Byzantine author, but is inherently probable, since he completed its foundation and we hear of it in connection with his uncle, the logothete Theodore Castamonites, and his daughter (Janin, *op. cit.*, p. 225). Murzuphlus feigned grief at the death of Alexius IV "et le fit ensepeillir com empereor honorablement et metre en terre" (Villehardouin, *loc. cit.*), presumably at the Pantanassa, but we are not so told.

⁵⁷ Cf. R. Browning, "The Death of John II Comnenus," *Byzantion*, 31 (1961), 229–35, where it is argued that his death was not wholly accidental.

not altogether an easy matter. Account has to be taken of the fact that they are not in their original language, and that they are not uniform in origin and presentation. While Section III must be accorded a high degree of authority, since in its original form it dates from the period which it is recording and its authors are likely to have taken pains to ensure the accuracy of the details they relate, Section II is a learned compilation which must be associated with the movement of historical research that characterized the later years of the reign of Constantine VII and was largely stimulated by the antiquarian interests of the Emperor himself. Its reliability will therefore depend upon the nature of the sources available and the care with which these were used.

These sources can be divided into four groups: (1) narrative historical works, (2) a *Series imperatorum* giving the names and order of the emperors and the lengths of their reigns, (3) a *Catalogus sepulchrorum* analogous to those described earlier, and (4) a calendar of obits and similar anniversaries.

The first three of these raise no particular difficulties. The details given regarding the reigns and in particular regarding the downfall of many emperors—the overthrow of Maurice by Phocas and his beheading near the Eutropian harbor, the fact that the deposed Theodosius III became a cleric at Ephesus and that miracles were worked at his tomb, the exile of the Empress Irene to Lesbos and the transport of her remains to Prinkipo for burial—are not such as one could expect to find in any mere list of rulers and must have come from narrative sources. In their very nature, however, and more especially in their greatly abbreviated form, they do not allow us to determine precisely which authority the compiler of the *Necrologium* was using at any particular moment, but it can be said with confidence that no single historical writer, or even single series of historical writings, supplied all the material; they do not occur together in any single source that now survives or whose existence can reasonably be presumed. The general impression given by them is that they formed part of a general corpus of historical knowledge which, however unfamiliar it may be to us, could have been drawn upon from memory by a scholar in the tenth century, for one cannot suppose that such a person would have read right through the writings of Theophanes or the Logothete simply to pick out one or two striking episodes for each reign.

The *Series imperatorum* and the *Catalogus sepulchrorum* must, on the other hand, have been specific written sources. The first was one of the large class of such writings which have been alluded to already, and it would be unprofitable to try and work out its specific affiliations. The *Catalogus sepulchrorum* was obviously related to those compiled at the behest of Constantine Porphyrogenitus; the manuscripts containing the *Necrologium* can thus be regarded as providing a further series of variants to version L in the *Book of Ceremonies* and versions C and R in the expanded version of the *Patria*. There are a few discrepancies between the texts, and one error in particular shows that the version used by the compiler of the *Necrologium* must have been closer to C than to the fuller and more reliable text of L. Texts L and R record, quite correctly, the

burial of Theodosius the Great in a porphyry tomb in the mausoleum of Constantine. In text C, however, by a slip, the Theodosius in question is described as Theodosius II (ὁ μικρός), the sarcophagus being still porphyry. In text L the next three entries are Leo I in a tomb of green Hieracites, Marcian in one of porphyry, and Zeno in one of green Thessalian marble; in text C Leo and Marcian are omitted, so that the next entry is Zeno in a green marble tomb; in text R Leo is omitted and the next entry is Marcian in a porphyry tomb. The *Necrologium* contains the same error as C about the identity of Theodosius; so a similar text must have been used for it, but it incorrectly describes the tomb as one of green Thessalian marble; this implies the use of a text which had as its next entry one referring to an emperor buried in a tomb of this material, for the mistake is most easily explained on the presumption that the copyist's eye passed inadvertently from one entry to the next. Such a text cannot have been identical with C, since the tombs of Leo and Marcian which this omits are duly included in the *Necrologium*.

The use of a calendar or calendars of obits and other anniversaries is the most debatable of the sources of the *Necrologium*, for no precisely comparable list is known to exist. In the *Synaxarion* of Constantinople there are isolated allusions to unusual events—fires, earthquakes, barbarian raids, ashes falling from heaven—which mix oddly with the normal sequence of ecclesiastical festivals, but liturgical commemorations of emperors and princes play a very minor role.⁵⁸ They do however occur—it is such an entry in the *Synaxarion* that has preserved the obit of Constantine, eldest son of Basil I⁵⁹—and it is reasonable to suppose that at the church of the Holy Apostles and in other churches where emperors were buried there would have been preserved the obits of those who merited commemoration in the prayers of the faithful. There are indeed certain demonstrable errors in the *Necrologium* which can be accounted for only on the assumption that they go back to documents in which the name of the ruler was accompanied by a date alone, without further explanation. The day of Valentinian I's death is given as 21 March, whereas it was actually 17 November; 21 February or 21 March—a mistake resulting from its expression in terms of kalends—was really that of his funeral. The day of Theodosius II's death is also given as 30 July, whereas it should be 28 July; once again the date is that of the funeral. The day of Constantine VI's deposition is given as 10 November, whereas it should be 19 August; 10 November was actually the date on which he carried out a coup d'état and removed his mother from power in 790. Such errors would not easily have arisen if the compiler of the *Necrologium* was here relying on narrative sources, for there they would have been adequately explained. In any case there is no narrative source which contains even a substantial proportion of the dates in question, while some are not found at all in any existing source. The very form of the entries in the *Necrologium*, each with the obit followed by the name of the emperor, is itself such as to

⁵⁸ Cf. H. Delehay, *Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae* (in *Acta Sanctorum, Propylaeum Novembris* [Brussels, 1902]), lxxv. The various types of such works are explained in cols. iii–v.

⁵⁹ *Infra*, note 87.

suggest the use of a "calendar" source, and if such a view be accepted it greatly enhances the authority to be attached to the work as a whole.

The reliability of the information given by the *Necrologium* is discussed in detail in the Appendix, but a general picture can be obtained from the accompanying Table I, which sets out the dates of deaths or depositions given by the *Necrologium* and those which are given by or can be inferred from other existing sources. The correspondence is remarkably close, and in some cases there are good reasons for believing that the date given by the *Necrologium* is correct and that the error lies not in it but in the other source. Some of the smaller discrepancies are those which occur inevitably in written records. If an emperor died during the night of June 5/6, some chroniclers would have placed the event on the 5th and others on the 6th, while those some distance away, to whom the date might have been reported incorrectly, could have written the 3rd or the 7th. There are, however, a few serious mistakes, some of which are easily explicable (e.g. Valentinian I, Constantine VI), while others are not (e.g. Michael I, Theophilus). They are discussed more fully in their proper place.

TABLE I
Comparative List of Obits or Dates of Deposition

	<i>Necrologium</i>	<i>Other Source(s)</i>	<i>Comment</i>
Constantine I (306-37)	20 May	22 May	22 May correct
Constantius II (337-61)	3 Nov.	3 Nov.	
Julian (360-63)	26 June	26 June	
Jovian (363-64)	17 Feb.	17 Feb.	
Valens (364-78)	9 Aug.	9 Aug.	
Valentinian I (364-75)	21 March	17 Nov.	21 Feb. date of funeral
Theodosius I (379-95)	7 Jan.	17 Jan.	17 Jan. correct
Arcadius (395-408)	1 May	1 May	
Theodosius II (408-50)	30 July	28 July	30 July date of funeral
Marcian (450-57)	27 Jan.	26 Jan./7 Feb.	
Leo I (457-74)	30 or 31 Jan.	contradictory	30 Jan. probably correct
Zeno (474-91)	9 April	9 April	
Anastasius I (491-518)	8 July	8 July	
Justin I (518-27)	5 Aug.	1 Aug.	1 Aug. correct
Justinian I (527-65)	3 Nov.	14 Nov.	14 Nov. correct
Justin II (565-78)	5 Oct.	5 Oct.	
Tiberius II (578-82)	12 Aug.	14 Aug.	14 Aug. correct
Maurice (582-602)	25 Nov.	25 Nov.	
Phocas (602-10)	1 Oct.	5 Oct.	5 Oct. correct
Heraclius (610-41)	11 Jan.	(11 Feb.)	11 Jan. probably correct
Heraclius Constantine (641)	20 April	(25 May)	20 April probably correct
Constans II (641-68)	5 Nov.	15 July	5 Nov. probably accession of C.IV.
Constantine IV (668-85)	10 July	-	
Justinian II (685-95, 705-11)	24 Nov.	4 Nov.	4 Nov. probably correct
Leontius (695-98)	15 Feb.	-	
Tiberius Apsimar (698-705)	21 Aug.	summer	
Philippicus (711-14)	20 Jan.	-	
Anastasius II (714-15)	1 June	-	
Theodosius III (715-16)	24 July	(25 March)	24 July possibly correct
Leo III (716-41)	18 July	18 June	18 June correct
Constantine V (741-75)	14 Sept.	14 Sept.	
Leo IV (775-80)	8 Sept.	8 Sept.	

	<i>Necrologium</i>	<i>Other Source(s)</i>	<i>Comment</i>
Constantine VI (780-97)	10 Nov.	19 Aug.	10 Nov. coup d'état of 790.
Irene (797-802)	30 Oct.	30 Oct.	
Nicephorus I (802-11)	25 July	25 July	
Stauracius (811)	20 Oct.	2 Oct.	2 Oct. correct
Michael I (811-13)	8 Oct.	11 July	11 July correct
Leo V (813-20)	25 Dec.	25 Dec.	
Michael II (820-29)	2 Oct.	early Oct.	2 Oct. correct
Theophilus (829-42)	22 Oct.	20 Jan.	20 Jan. correct
Michael III (842-67)	24 Sept.	24 Sept.	
Basil I (867-86)	19 Aug.	29 Aug.	29 Aug. correct
Leo VI (886-912)	-	11 May	
Alexander (912-13)	6 June	6 June	
Constantine VII (913-59)	19 Nov.	9 Nov.	19 Nov. correct
Romanus II (959-63)	15 March	15 March	
Basil II (963-1025)	13 Dec.	15 Dec.	15 Dec. correct
Constantine VIII (1025-28)	Nov.	9 Nov.	
Romanus III (1028-34)	11 April	11 April	
Michael IV (1034-41)	13 Nov.	10 Dec.	10 Dec. correct
Michael V (1041-42)	(20 April)	21 April	

An acceptance of the general reliability of the original Greek version of the *Necrologium* does not of course imply that the existing Latin text is free from errors. One common category of such errors, however, seems to occur only

TABLE II
Variants in the obits and lengths of reigns

	Va	D	S
Constantine I	33 yrs.	33 yrs.	-
Julian	4 yrs. 2 mos.	4 yrs. 2 mos.	2 yrs. 2 mos.
Jovian	1 yr. 8 mos.	1 yr. 8 mos.	8 mos.
Valentinian I	21 March	21 March	1 March
Leo I	<i>die ultimo</i> Jan.	30 Jan.	-
Justin II	13 yrs.	13 yrs.	11 yrs.
Tiberius II	20 yrs.	20 yrs.	7 yrs.
Philippicus	2 yrs.	2 yrs.	1½ yrs.
Leo III	23 yrs.	23 yrs.	22 yrs.
Basil II	49 yrs.	49 yrs.	48 yrs.

rarely. Table II, giving the only variations in numerals between the various MSS in Sections II and III, shows that there were relatively few mistakes in the figures, and that these result from omissions or miscalculations that can easily be put right. Possible faults in the transliteration of numerals from Greek to Latin are more difficult to allow for, since Greek numerals were notoriously liable to miscopying,⁶⁰ but the comparative table of obits shows a high level of accuracy.

In other respects, however, the Greek text gave translator and transcribers alike a great deal of trouble, and eccentricities and misreadings of all kinds have occurred where proper names and unfamiliar words were concerned.

⁶⁰ Two figures easily miscopied were apparently those for 1 (α') and 5 (ε'), as in the obits of Justin I and Phocas and in the length of reign ascribed to Irene.

Λάρναξ by metathesis has become *lanarki*⁶¹ (Cessi, p. 105, line 8) and Verina, the wife of Leo I, *Veneria* (p. 106, line 5); the church of St. Mamas is rendered as *Sancti martyris Minantis* (p. 107, line 15), Gregoria as *Glygoria* (p. 107, note cc, wrongly amended in text); the slaying of Nicephorus I by the Khan Krum became a *Trunio* or *ac runio* (p. 110, line 4).⁶² Contamination from spoken Greek is shown by such spellings as *efdomo* (for Hebdomon), *Efdokya*, and *Vutaniati*. The translator has often misunderstood the context in which the original text gave the name of the wife of each emperor—whether she predeceased or survived him and whether or not she was buried in the same tomb—and has sometimes inserted her name at most inapposite points in the entry; usually she is made to share his regnal years, but Constantine V, in addition to burning icons and relics, is credited with burning his three wives as well. Such errors, however, are few in number compared with the positive merits of the document, and in its lists of both tombs and obits the *Necrologium* represents an important and in the main a reliable source of Byzantine history.

III

While the main interest of the *Necrologium* lies in its obits, its list of tombs provides some significant divergences from those given in the various versions of the *Catalogus sepulchrorum*. The latter were evidently intended to include full lists of the contents of the mausolea of Constantine and Justinian and the two “stoas.” An analysis of these throws much light on the way in which the mausolea were used, and when supplemented by information from other literary sources allows one to establish the whereabouts of some of the more important tombs.

The major distinction in the grouping of the tombs lies in their distribution between the two mausolea. That of Constantine was used fairly continuously at two widely separated intervals of time, from the reign of Constantius II († 361) to the death of Anastasius I (518), and again from Michael III († 867) to Constantine VIII († 1028); that of Justinian was used in the intervening period, from Justinian I himself († 565) to Theophilus († 842). Within each series further breakdowns are possible. The three principal tombs in the mausoleum of Constantine were those of Constantine himself, Constantius II, and Theodosius I, a grouping which is intelligible in view of the eminence of the persons concerned but not altogether natural, since there is a notable gap between Constantius II and Theodosius I. The use of the mausoleum was then discontinued, Arcadius, Eudoxia, and Theodosius II being buried elsewhere in the precincts of the church. In the second half of the fifth century the building

⁶¹ This is only one of several Greek words which have been left untranslated. There is also *lipsana*, i.e. λείψανα (p. 109, line 20), and πράσινος, in describing the green color of Thessalian marble, is left as *exprusio lapide* (p. 106, line 4) or *prassino* (p. 109, line 3). Nicknames are not usually translated (e.g. Anastasius Dicoros), but Justinian II becomes *Nasu trunco*.

⁶² Some of these probably occurred in the copying from one Latin version to the other. This is certainly true in two instances where *d* was read as *ol* or *oi*; on p. 107, line 1 a reference to Hierapolitan stone has become *Ierapditis*, and on p. 106, line 14, Anastasius I's nickname Δίκωρος, given him because his eyes differed in color, which is correctly rendered in S as *Dicoros*, becomes *o Icoros* in V^a and D.

was brought back into use and received in succession the tombs of Pulcheria and Marcian († 457), Leo I († 474) and Verina, Zeno († 491), and Ariadne and Anastasius I († 518). It was then again abandoned, not to be re-employed till the reign of Basil I (867–86), when it became the mausoleum of the Macedonian dynasty and remained in use till 1028. As for the mausoleum of Justinian, it had three fairly short periods of disuse: (1) between the death of Justin II in 578 and that of his widow Sophia († *post* 601); (2) between the death of Eudocia, first wife of Justinian II, in or before 695 and that of the ex-Emperor Anastasius II in 720;⁶³ and (3) between the death of Leo IV in 780 and that of Michael II in 829. Each of these latter gaps largely coincides with a rapid series of palace revolutions, so that the misfortunes of individual emperors rather than deliberate policy explains their failure to use the mausoleum.

A consideration of these groupings of tombs shows that the Byzantines were repeatedly faced with the same problem that puzzled the youthful Goethe when he saw only one vacant space remaining for an imperial portrait in the Kaisersaal at Frankfurt. What would happen when the room was full? For the Byzantines there was no Napoleon to save the situation by winding up the empire, and Constantine's successors had either to provide accommodation elsewhere or to decide from time to time that the room was not as full as they had thought. "Fullness" is a relative term, and while the taste of a near-classical age might still require a symmetrical grouping of sarcophagi spaced widely apart, the Byzantine world would tolerate a crowding of tombs which must in the end have been as disfiguring as those of many Gothic and Baroque churches today. The straits in which the emperors found themselves, before they finally abandoned the two mausolea, can be seen from the fact that the word *λαρνάκιον* instead of *λάβραξ* is applied in list L to the two last sarcophagi in each building—those in the mausoleum of Constantine being specifically described as "small"—and that no space could be found around the walls for the tomb of Constantine VIII, the last occupant of the mausoleum of Constantine, so that it had to be placed in the center of the building.

With these considerations in mind we can study in more detail the layout of the mausolea and the two "stoas."

a. The Mausoleum of Constantine

The total number of tombs in this mausoleum was twenty, and they may be set out as follows:

<i>Stage A</i>	<i>Stage B</i>
I. Constantine I, with Helena (and Fausta ?)	IV. Marcian, with Pulcheria
II. Constantius II, with Severa	V. Leo I, with Verina
III. Theodosius I, with Flaccilla (and Galla ?)	VI. Zeno (with Leo II ?)
	VII. Anastasius I, with Ariadne

⁶³ The Empress Anastasia, widow of Constantine IV, was buried in the mausoleum during this period, but in the same tomb as her husband, not separately.

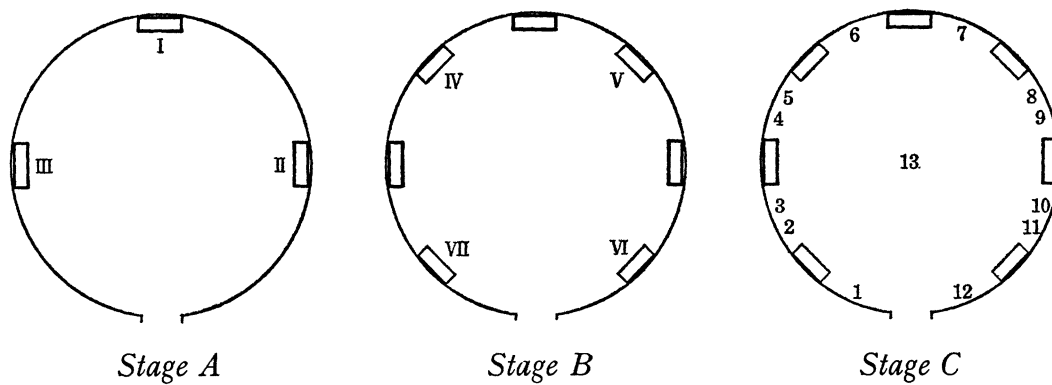
Stage C

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. Michael III | 7. Eudocia, third wife of Leo VI |
| 2. Basil I, with Eudocia and Alexander | 8. Two Annas, daughters of Leo VI |
| 3. Leo VI, with Constantine VII | 9. Basil, son of Leo VI, and Bardas, son of Basil I |
| 4. Constantine, son of Basil I | 10. Romanus II |
| 5. Theophano, first wife of Leo VI, with her daughter Eudocia | 11. Nicephorus Phocas |
| 6. Zoe, second wife of Leo VI | 12. Theophano, wife of Romanus II |
| | 13. Constantine VIII |

Our main authority for the names is L. There are serious gaps in C and R, but they have the merit of providing information regarding the last few burials, which took place after L was drawn up. The *Necrologium* confirms the last burials but is otherwise less valuable than L, since it is concerned only with the tombs of the emperors and not with those of their families. The list of tombs in *Stages A* and *B* is virtually identical in all the sources, but there are divergences over the last entries in *Stage C* that affect our estimate of the total number which the mausoleum eventually contained. List L, inserted in the *Book of Ceremonies* during the reign of Romanus II, records the fact that Constantine VII was buried with Leo VI—this is confirmed by Cedrenus⁶⁴—and lists one unused sepulchre (“Another small *larnakion* of Sagarian stone, in which lies . . .”) presumably intended for himself. Such a tomb is not listed, or at least is not identifiable, in lists C and R, and the *Necrologium* states that Romanus II was buried in a tomb of white stone, without decoration, which his father Constantine had caused to be made (*in pila alba sine sculptura quam pater ipsius, Constantinus, fieri precepit*). Sagarian was a variegated marble, not white, and it is difficult to see how the two could have been confused. It is equally difficult to see why, if such a tomb of white stone had stood in the mausoleum when C was compiled—as it should have done if it had been made at the orders of Constantine VII—it should not have been mentioned. There seems no way of resolving the contradiction, unless we assume a transfer of sarcophagi between the mausoleum of Constantine and some other part of the church. At all events, the total of sarcophagi added during *Stage C* seems to work out at thirteen, twelve of these being round the walls and one in the center of the building.

The phases in the development of the Mausoleum can be illustrated in three diagrams, it being understood that these are purely schematic. The relative position of the tombs in *Stage A* is known with certainty, but the numbering of the remaining tombs in the diagrams is intended only to indicate how a certain number of sarcophagi could have been fitted into the space available to receive them. It carries with it no implication that the numbering in the lists and the diagrams correspond to one another.

⁶⁴ Bonn ed., ii.338. Concerning the possibility that he was later reburied in a separate tomb, see *infra*, p. 58.



Schematic Plan of the Mausoleum of Constantine

Stage A

Only three tombs⁶⁵ are attested in this stage, and their positions are exactly described by Mesarites: (I) Constantine the Great, at the east side of the mausoleum, facing the entrance; (II) Constantius II, to the south; and (III) Theodosius the Great, to the north. This layout is explicable and symmetrical, and once it was completed it is intelligible that Arcadius and Theodosius II should have thought of being buried elsewhere. The only anomaly requiring explanation is the presence of Theodosius I, for one would expect the place of his tomb to have been already filled by that of some preceding emperor.

Three emperors who ruled between Constantius II and Theodosius I were buried in the Church of the Holy Apostles: Julian († 363), Jovian († 364), and Valentinian I († 375), but they were not buried there in that order. Julian had been buried first at Tarsus, and his remains were transferred to Constantinople only after 390.⁶⁶ Jovian died at Dadastana, but his body was immediately embalmed and brought to Constantinople *ut inter Augustorum reliquias conderetur*.⁶⁷ Valentinian I died in Gaul, but his body was also embalmed and sent to Constantinople *ut ... inter divorum reliquias humaretur*.⁶⁸ Three other emperors died during the same period but were not buried at Constantinople. Valens, the only one of the three who had ruled in the east, perished in or after the battle of Adrianople (378) and his body was never found.⁶⁹ Gratian was murdered at Lyons (25 August 383), and St. Ambrose in 387 was still trying to obtain possession of his ashes to bury them suitably at Milan.⁷⁰ In the end the Saint was successful, for after the murder of Valentinian II in Gaul (15 May)

⁶⁵ The *Vita Constantini*, as has been seen *supra* (p. 5), speaks of twelve θήκας ὡσαύτῃ στήλας ἱερὰς, plus the tomb of Constantine, and Heisenberg (*Die Apostelkirche zu Konstantinopel*, 106, 116) takes this as implying an original arrangement of twelve actual sarcophagi. What these θήκαι may have been, assuming that they are not pure invention, is not clear, but the phrasing in the use of the mausoleum shows that they cannot have been tombs intended for the reception of actual bodies.

⁶⁶ *Infra*, p. 40.

⁶⁷ Amm. Marc., xxvi. 1.3.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, xxx. 10. 1.

⁶⁹ *Infra*, p. 42.

⁷⁰ Ambrose, *Epist.* 24, in Migne, PL, 16, col. 1038.

he had the melancholy satisfaction of bringing father and son together in the same tomb at Milan.⁷¹

When Jovian died in 364 only two emperors, Constantine the Great and Constantius II, had been buried at Constantinople, both of them in the mausoleum of Constantine, and it seems clear that it was this mausoleum which was envisaged when Jovian's body was brought to the capital *ut inter Augustorum reliquias conderetur*. His tomb would therefore have occupied the third place in this mausoleum. Whether it was possible to use for him one already prepared and in place, or whether his widow or his successor was left with the task of providing one for him, must remain a matter of conjecture. If one was already there, it must have been prepared by Constantius II for either his wife or the son for whose birth he hoped.⁷² Jovian's own reign was too short for him to have made the necessary arrangements himself, more especially since he was never in the capital after his accession.

The difficulty really arises from our uncertainty as to how Constantius II himself envisaged the mausoleum. On the one hand he seems to have raised no objection to two of his sisters being buried elsewhere. Constantia (Constantina), who was wife successively to Hannibalian and the Caesar Gallus, died in Bithynia in 354, and her body was transported from Asia Minor to Rome to be buried in a mausoleum which had been constructed in the grounds of a villa belonging to the family close to the Via Nomentana.⁷³ Helena, wife of Julian, who died at Vienne, was buried beside her sister six years later.⁷⁴ Julian was obviously in a position to decide for himself where his wife should be buried, but Constantius' failure to take any action over Constantia in 354 suggests that the "family" aspect of the building did not bulk very large in his eyes. On the other hand, he seems to have made no attempt to secure the bodies of his brothers, Constantine II († 340) and Constans I († 350),⁷⁵ who both as emperors

⁷¹ Ambrose, *De obitu Valentiniani consolatio*, chap. 79 (Migne, PL, 16, cols. 1382-3): *O omnibus Gratiane et Valentiniane speciosi et carissimi. Inseparabiles in vita, et in morte non estis separati. Non vos discrevit tumultus, quos non discernebat affectus*. Delbrueck (*Antike Porphyrrwerke*, p. 220) suggests that a porphyry sarcophagus which is still in the church of San Ambrogio may have been that of Gratian. Later Byzantine tradition gave Theodosius I the credit of having ensured for Gratian an imperial tomb (Leo Grammaticus, p. 100). The phrase used by Leo would seem to imply that this was in the Holy Apostles, but Gratian's burial there is not even hinted at by any other writer and is explicitly contradicted by the statement of Ambrose just quoted.

⁷² Delbrueck (*Antike Porphyrrwerke*, p. 222) suggested that the mausoleum originally held four tombs, one for Constantine and one for each of his three sons, and that those used by Theodosius I and Marcian had been originally intended for Constantine II and Constans. This would not explain, however, why they had not been used earlier.

⁷³ Amm. Marc., xiv. 11. 6; xxi. 1. 5. This building is the modern church (*rotonda*) of Santa Costanza. One of the porphyry sarcophagi in the Vatican (Delbrueck, *Antike Porphyrrwerke*, p. 219; cf. E. Sjöquist and A. Westholm, "Zur Zeitbestimmung der Helena- und Constantinsarkophage," *Opuscula archaeologica*, 1 [1935], 9ff., though there an attempt is made to distinguish between the widow of Gallus and the St. Costanza of the ecclesiastical writers) was brought there in the eighteenth century, and presumably belonged originally to either Constantia or Helena. For the varying accounts of the circumstances of the erection of the church, see H. Stern, "Les mosaïques de l'église de Sainte-Constance à Rome," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 12 (1958), 160-66.

⁷⁴ Amm. Marc., xxi. 1. 5.

⁷⁵ In the case of Constantine II, it is true, there was probably nothing to be done, for he was killed near Aquileia in April 340 while attacking his brother Constans; his body was thrown into the River Alsa (Aurelius Victor, *Epitome*, 41. 21; ed. F. Pichlmayr [Leipzig, 1911], p. 168) and apparently was never found. Constans was killed in the Pyrenees towards the end of January 350 after the revolt of Magnentius at Autun (18 January), and nothing is known of the circumstances of his burial.

and as sons of Constantine the Great would have been obviously suitable candidates for interment beside their father. The probability is that the future functions of the building had not yet been clearly thought out—there was, after all, no single imperial mausoleum at Rome—and that they developed only with the passage of time.

It was in fact left to Valens and Theodosius I to develop the idea that the church of the Holy Apostles, which was completed and dedicated in 370, should be regarded as an adjunct of the mausoleum and accommodate the tombs of future emperors and their families. The body of Valentinian I was sent to Constantinople after his death in 375, whether or not by previous arrangement we do not know. There was no sarcophagus ready for it, and it was not until 21 February 382 that this was prepared and Theodosius was able to give his predecessor an appropriate funeral.⁷⁶ We hear nothing of any sarcophagus of Valens; possibly one was ordered only at the same time as that of Valentinian, and so was not finished when Valens himself perished in 378. But it is perhaps significant that when the body of Constantia, apparently the daughter of Constantius II and first wife of Gratian, was brought to Constantinople in 383, it could arrive on 12 September and be solemnly interred on 1 December;⁷⁷ there was evidently some sarcophagus available which could receive it, and it may be that this was the one that Valens intended for himself. The next burial must have been that of Flaccilla, wife of Theodosius I, who died in 386 and was placed in the sarcophagus intended ultimately for Theodosius himself.⁷⁸ The only further interments before 395⁷⁹ were the bodies of Julian and his wife Helena, if I am right in placing these prior to the death of Theodosius himself.⁸⁰ Finally, there was the funeral of Theodosius, which took place on 9 November 395 after his corpse had been brought back from Milan.⁸¹

Theodosius was placed in the mausoleum of Constantine, and it seems to me likely that this was done at the expense of Jovian's tomb, which, in antici-

⁷⁶ It is perhaps strange that Theodosius should have decided at precisely this time (30 July 381) to forbid, in strictest terms, the burial within the city boundaries of bodies in urns or sarcophagi above ground, their exclusion from churches which served as the resting places of apostles and martyrs being specifically mentioned (*Cod. Theod.*, 9. 17. 6). The emperor and his household, however, would obviously have been exempt from the operation of such a provision—the sanction was a fine of a third of the offender's patrimony—and one wonders if the law was not simply intended to clear the church of the Holy Apostles of unwanted tombs. Only the prohibition of burial in the shrines of apostles and martyrs was taken over into the *Cod. Just.*, 1. 2. 2, and it is difficult to believe that it was ever seriously enforced. Isolated tombs in the country were in constant danger from pillagers, as the whole section of *Cod. Theod.*, 9. 17 clearly shows.

⁷⁷ *Cons. Constant.* and *Chron. Paschale*, a. 383 (in *Chron. min.*, i. 244) correcting the date of arrival (1 September) as given by the *Chronicon Paschale*. The general view is that the lady here referred to, despite her being described as the daughter of *Constantine*, was the wife of Gratian and so a posthumous daughter of Constantius II (*Amm. Marc.*, xxi. 15. 6; xxix. 6. 7). The alternative, which would avoid crediting these sources with a confusion—admittedly a common one—between the names of Constantine I and Constantius II, would be to assume that she was in fact the Constantia, widow of Gallus, buried at Santa Costanza at Rome. Since the body of her sister Helena was apparently also transported to Constantinople at about this time, such a possibility cannot be ruled out.

⁷⁸ *Infra*, p. 43.

⁷⁹ Apart from Valeria Severa, the first wife of Valentinian, whom the *Necrologium* declares was buried with him (*infra*, p. 42), and the possibility (*infra*, p. 43) that Theodosius I's second wife Galla may have been buried with Flaccilla.

⁸⁰ *Infra*, p. 41.

⁸¹ *Infra*, p. 43.

pation, had already been moved to a "stoa" to the north of the church. This left the symmetrical arrangement of the mausoleum unchanged, and completed the first stage in its use. By the end of the century the church of the Holy Apostles, with several imperial burials in both the church itself and the mausoleum of Constantine, was generally regarded as specifically consecrated to the reception of imperial tombs, where the emperors could repose undisturbed in close proximity to the relics of the Apostles.⁸²

Stage B

The second stage in the utilization of the mausoleum did not begin till the middle of the fifth century. Arcadius, his wife Eudoxia, and his son Theodosius II had built for themselves a "stoa" to the south of the church, but it was not large enough to hold more than three sarcophagi,⁸³ and Marcian took the decision to add a further series of tombs to the mausoleum of Constantine. The four that followed—Pulcheria and Marcian, Leo and Verina, Zeno, and Ariadne and Anastasius I—were presumably placed in the four major spaces that must have been vacant around the walls. The only one whose position is definitely known is that of Pulcheria and Marcian, which Mesarites describes as towards the east, closest to that of Theodosius the Great. It presumably occupied the middle space between those of Theodosius and Constantine, though, if Mesarites' words are to be taken literally, it must subsequently have been moved up against Theodosius' tomb so as to make space for more tombs round the walls. But it is possible that in writing as he did he had only the larger tombs in mind, and that smaller ones, added later, were in fact placed between those of Pulcheria and her grandfather.

Stage C

The addition of these four tombs made the internal arrangement of the mausoleum again symmetrical, so that it gave the impression of being "full." Justin I and Euphemia were buried elsewhere, and Justinian, in addition to rebuilding the church of the Holy Apostles, which, like so many of the hastily constructed buildings of the fourth century, was already falling into a state of dilapidation, added an entirely new mausoleum to receive the remains of himself and future emperors. Cruciform instead of circular, and apparently more spacious than that of Constantine, it served its purpose, though with occasional periods of disuse which parallel those in the history of the earlier building, for nearly three centuries. By the middle of the ninth century, however, it in turn was completely full, with no fewer than twenty-three tombs. Theophilus buried there two of his own children, Constantine and Maria, who

⁸² See some very telling passages from homilies of St. John Chrysostom quoted in F. Dvornik, *The Idea of Apostolicity in Byzantium and the Legend of the Apostle Andrew*, *Dumbarton Oaks Studies*, IV (Cambridge, Mass., 1958), 139–140. But the fact that the church was, at least for a time, the approved burial place of the patriarchs must also not be overlooked.

⁸³ Probably Arcadius' numerous daughters were buried elsewhere in the church, but we have no information on the point.

died during his lifetime, but they were housed in small sarcophagi, and he buried his daughter Anna in the convent of the Lady Euphrosyne.⁸⁴ He himself was buried in the mausoleum of Justinian when he died in 842, but his successors had to look elsewhere for a place of burial.

During the reign of Michael III the problem did not arise in an acute form, for he quarrelled with his mother and sisters, whose tombs were prepared in the Gastria monastery,⁸⁵ and he himself, after his murder in 867, was buried at Chrysopolis. It was Basil I who decided on the obvious solution, a return to the mausoleum of Constantine. In comparison with the crowded condition of the mausoleum of Justinian, this must have seemed relatively empty, though Basil had to recognize that it would not hold all the members of his family and should be reserved for actual or potential emperors.⁸⁶ The first of the new series of tombs to find a home there was that of his favorite son Constantine, who was briefly co-emperor and who died on 3 September 879.⁸⁷ The second tomb was that of Bardas, a son who is otherwise unknown to history. Basil I's own tomb was the third; his wife Eudocia and his son Alexander (912-13) were subsequently buried in it with him. In 886 Leo VI brought back the body of the murdered Michael III from Chrysopolis in a coffin of cypress wood and interred it in the mausoleum of Constantine in the sarcophagus of green Thessalian marble which had formerly held Justin I and Euphemia in the monastery of the Augusta.⁸⁸ There followed the tombs of Leo's first three wives, St. Theophano,⁸⁹

⁸⁴ *Catalogus sepulchrorum* in the *De Cereemon.*, Bonn ed., i. 647. Cf. Janin, *Les églises et les monastères*, pp. 137-8.

⁸⁵ The *Catalogus sepulchrorum* (*loc. cit.*, pp. 647-8) lists the tombs of Theodora and her family in the Gastria as follows:

1. a *statavaia* containing the bodies of St. Theodora and her three daughters Thecla, Anastasia, and Pulcheria;
2. the marble *larnax* of Theodora's brother Petronas, once Domestic of the Schools;
3. the *larnakion* of Theodora's mother Theoctista, of Proconnesian or Picrimian marble;
4. the *larnakidion* of Theodora's niece Irene, daughter of the Caesar Bardas, of Sagarian or Pneumonousian marble;
5. a small box, shaped like a *larnakidion*, containing the lower jawbone of Theodora's brother, the Caesar Bardas.

Their relative positions in the church are indicated in the text. The fact that Bardas' jawbone was all that his sister could save for burial bears out Genesius' account of the savagery with which his corpse was treated after his murder on 21 April 866 (Genesius, Bonn. ed., p. 107). The most unpleasant detail recalls the treatment of Phocas' body (Nicephorus, ed. de Boor, p. 5), and, as in the case of Phocas, proceedings probably ended with its being burnt. The Caesar's jawbone presumably did duty for his head, which by Roman law (*Digest*, xi. 7. 44) determined a person's place of burial. On the Gastria, see Janin, *op. cit.*, pp. 72-3.

⁸⁶ The *Catalogus sepulchrorum* (*loc. cit.*) records the burial of his mother, two brothers, and three daughters in the church of St. Euphemia in Petron, and of another daughter in that of St. Michael Promotou. The tombs are briefly described and located. On these churches, see Janin, *op. cit.*, pp. 134-6, 357.

⁸⁷ He died between the sending of a papal letter to the emperor in August 879 and its arrival in Constantinople in November, as is shown by the change in the names of its recipients (Mon. Germ. Hist., *Epist. Carolini aevi*, v. 167). The precise day is given by the Synaxarion of the Church of Constantinople (F. Halkin, "Trois dates historiques précisées grâce au Synaxaire," *Byzantion*, 24 (1954), 14-17).

⁸⁸ *Infra*, pp. 45-46.

⁸⁹ The question of Theophano's burial place is somewhat complicated, for Leo VI acquired some property adjacent to the church of the Holy Apostles, built a church on it in her honor, and according to a number of sources (Symeon Magister, Zonaras, etc.) buried her there. Another tradition (Nicephorus Gregoras) alleged that she was temporarily buried in the church of the Apostles and subsequently removed to that of St. Constantine, where her tomb was seen by travellers in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The question has been fully discussed by Downey, "The Church of All Saints

Zoe, and Eudocia,⁹⁰ one containing two of his daughters, both named Anna,⁹¹ and finally his own.

The tombs thus added in the course of three decades were no fewer than nine, and the mausoleum was once again producing the impression of "fullness." Two more of Leo's children, Eudocia and Basil, had to be buried with their mother (Theophano) and uncle (Bardas) respectively, the Emperor Alexander had to be buried with Basil I, and finally Constantine VII, though he had succeeded in finding room for a tomb for himself, was buried with Leo VI in order to leave his own free for Romanus II. It was no doubt fortunate, from the point of view of the authorities in charge of the church, that Romanus I had provided for the burial of himself and his family in the monastery of the Myrelaion, which he had founded on his family estate in the city.⁹² The *Catalogus sepulchrorum*, since it was compiled at Constantine VII's direction, pointedly omits the tombs of the Lecapeni from the imperial list, but there is some scattered information about them in the chronicles. Romanus I's wife Theodora, who died on 20 February 922, was apparently the first to be buried in the Myrelaion,⁹³ and the Emperor soon afterwards commissioned a certain Petronas to transfer from the church of St. Mamas three sarcophagi, in which Maurice and his children were said to have been buried, to the new monastery, where they were evidently intended to serve for Romanus and his relations.⁹⁴ His son and colleague Christopher was buried there in August 931,⁹⁵ so in 946 was his son and former

(Church of St. Theophano) near the Church of the Holy Apostles at Constantinople," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 9-10 (1956), 301-5, who concludes that she was (1) first buried in the Church of St. Theophano, (2) transferred to that of the Holy Apostles when Leo VI was induced to change the dedication of the church of St. Theophano to All Saints, and (3) finally removed to the nunnery of St. Constantine. I am sceptical of stage (3); Nicephorus Gregoras (E. Kurtz, "Zwei griechische Texte über die hl. Theophano, die Gemahlin Kaisers Leo VI.," *Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. de St.-Petersbourg*, 8th Ser., III 2 [1898], 43) ascribes this removal to Leo VI, which is impossible, since her tomb was evidently in the mausoleum of Constantine when the *Catalogus sepulchrorum* was compiled, and I suspect that the nuns at St. Constantine's, who venerated her as their foundress, were simply showing some other tomb as being her's. There was also, to complicate matters a little further, an oratory (εὐκτήριον) of St. Theophano in the Holy Apostles—it is several times referred to in descriptions of ceremonies in the church—which had apparently nothing to do with her tomb.

⁹⁰ Leo VI's fourth wife, Zoe Carbonopsina, was compelled to enter the nunnery of St. Euphemia in Petriton in 919 after a real or alleged attempt to poison Romanus I (Theophanes Cont., vi. 16; Bonn ed., p. 397). She died and was buried there, her tomb being amongst those listed in the *Catalogus sepulchrorum*. Runciman seems wrongly to have assumed that she was the Zoe buried in the imperial mausoleum, which he oddly terms "the oratory of St. John" (*The Emperor Romanus Lecapenus and His Reign* [Cambridge, 1929], 61).

⁹¹ Cf. W. Ohnsorge, "Zur Frage der Töchter Kaiser Leons VI.," *Byz. Zeitschrift*, 51 (1958), 78-81.

⁹² Theoph. Cont., p. 402; cf. Janin, *Les églises et les monastères*, 364-6, on the site and history of the monastery.

⁹³ Theoph. Cont., *loc. cit.*

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 403-4. Two of the sarcophagi were plain, the third sculptured. Mr. Mango has called my attention to an extremely muddled reference in the *lemma* to ix. 81 of the Greek Anthology, which, after reciting the indignities which the dead might be called upon to suffer, adds "the tombs of Maurice and Amantius, the former of whom was cast out and dug down [?] (κατεσκάφη) while the latter was thrown out and scattered, the first under Leo [VI] and the second under Romanus [I]—and this although they were emperors" (*Epigrammatum Anthologia Palatina*, ed. F. Dübner, ii [Paris, 1872], 171). In reality it was Justin I's body which was maltreated by Leo VI and the tomb of Maurice which was appropriated by Romanus I, while there was never an emperor called Amantius. Possibly the name of the church of St. Mamas was corrupted into *Amantius* at some stage in the story. It is at any rate clear that the writer has confused the treatment accorded to the tombs of Justin I and Maurice and that no weight can be attached to his assertions.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 420.

colleague Constantine, the latter by the side of his first wife Helena;⁹⁶ so in due course was Romanus I himself, after his death in exile in Prote on 15 June 948;⁹⁷ so, finally, was his daughter the Empress Helena, widow of Constantine VII, for when she died on 19 September 961 she was buried in her father's tomb, which was in the Myrelaion, instead of in the Holy Apostles.⁹⁸ Probably other members of the Lecapenus family were buried in the Myrelaion as well, but nothing about this seems to have been recorded.

The last four tombs in the mausoleum were those of Romanus II († 963), Nicephorus Phocas († 969), Theophano, widow of Romanus II († *post* 975), and Constantine VIII († 1028). Nicephorus Phocas, who was murdered by John Zimisce on the night of 10/11 December 969,⁹⁹ was buried there without ceremony twenty-four hours later, after his body had been left lying for a day in the snow.¹⁰⁰ Theophano's presence is more natural, for she was recalled from exile after John's death¹⁰¹ and, as mother of the reigning Emperors Basil II and Constantine VIII, would have had a natural right to be buried with the accustomed honors of an imperial consort. John Zimisce himself died on 10 January 976,¹⁰² and was buried in a tomb elaborately decorated with gold and enamel which stood in the chapel of the Saviour in the Chalkê, at the entrance to the Great Palace.¹⁰³ Basil II died on 15 December 1025 and was buried in the church of St. John in the Hebdomon.¹⁰⁴ Only after nearly seven centuries of more or less regular use did the church of the Holy Apostles cease, in 1028, to be the regular place of burial of the emperors, whose graves in the future were to be distributed between the many churches and monasteries of the capital. Its history is in this respect curiously parallel to that of the Great Palace itself, which, from the eleventh century onwards, was practically abandoned by the court, except for some formal ceremonies, in favor of the less oppressive atmosphere of Blachernae.

b. The Mausoleum of Justinian

The Mausoleum of Justinian cannot be profitably discussed in the same detail as that of Constantine, since the separate phases of its utilization are less distinct and we have less to go upon in trying to determine its layout. We know from Nicolas Mesarites¹⁰⁵ that it was cruciform in plan—it had five “stoas”—

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 438.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 441. George Monachus (p. 924) gives the date as 15 July.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 473; Symeon Mag., p. 758. Cedrenus, ii. 344, gives the date as 20 September.

⁹⁹ Leo Diaconus, v. 6–8 (Bonn ed., pp. 84–90). Cedrenus, ii. 375, places it on the 11th.

¹⁰⁰ Leo Diaconus, v. 9 (p. 91).

¹⁰² For her exile, Leo Diaconus, vi. 4 (pp. 99–100), and Cedrenus, ii. 380–1; for her recall, Cedrenus, ii. 416.

¹⁰² Leo Diaconus, x. 11 (p. 178).

¹⁰³ Leo Diaconus, *loc. cit.*; description of the tomb in the Πάτρια, ed. Preger, ii. 283. Cf. C. Mango, *The Brazen House. A Study of the Vestibule of the Imperial Palace of Constantinople* (Copenhagen, 1959), 152. There does not seem to be any record regarding the date of death and place of burial of his wife Theodora, daughter of Constantine VII.

¹⁰⁴ *Infra*, Appendix, note 195.

¹⁰⁵ *Op. cit.* (*supra*, note 8) chap. 40 (pp. 892–3). Mesarites lists only six tombs: (1) Justinian's (2) Justin II's (3) Sophia's (4) Heraclius' (5) Theophilus', of green marble, and (6) Theodora's, of Sardinian stone. The others he dismisses with the comment quoted *supra*, note 43.

and it was apparently entered from the west, since the *Catalogus sepulchrorum* describes the sarcophagus of Eudocia, the wife of Justinian II, as lying "to the west, on the right hand side," evidently as one entered the building.¹⁰⁶ Both the *Catalogus* and the *Necrologium* say that the sarcophagus of Justinian I occupied the apse, to the east, as was only natural, while Mesarites says that the tomb of Justin II was close to that of Justinian but towards the north, and that of his wife Sophia towards the south. The position of Theodora's sepulchre is not stated, but it presumably occupied either the northern or the southern arm of the cross. The positions of the other tombs in the mausoleum are unknown.

The persons buried in it form four chronological groups:

<i>Group A</i>	<i>Group C</i>
1. Justinian	11. Anastasius III (Artemius)
2. Theodora	12. Irene, wife of Anastasius III
3. Justin II	13. Leo III the Isaurian
	13 ^a . Constantine V
	14. Irene, first wife of Constantine V
	15. Maria, second wife of Constantine V
	16. Cosmo and Irene, daughters of Leo III
	17. Leo IV
	18. Irene, wife of Leo IV
<i>Group B</i>	<i>Group D</i>
4. Sophia, wife of Justin II	19. Michael II
5. Fabia (Eudocia), wife of Heraclius	20. Thecla, wife of Michael II
6. Heraclius	21. Theophilus
7. (Heraclius) Constantine, son of Heraclius	22. Constantine, son of Theophilus
8. Fausta, wife of Constans II	23. Maria, daughter of Theophilus
9. Constantine IV, with his wife Anastasia	
10. Eudocia, first wife of Justinian II	

There is thus a pattern which corresponds roughly to that presented by the phases in the use of the Mausoleum of Constantine, but in only one instance can we be reasonably sure that the use of the mausoleum was intentionally discontinued. There are, however, a number of minor uncertainties which must be examined more closely.

Group A

The first four names on the list form a natural grouping from the point of view of family relationships but not from that of the use of the mausoleum, since Sophia died long after her husband and the mausoleum was not employed in the intervening period by Tiberius II, though, according to Theophanes, he

¹⁰⁶ The alternative possibility of the phrase "to the west, on the right hand," implying that the mausoleum was entered from the north, is excluded by the position of the mausoleum in relation to the main building.

and his wife Anastasia shared a single tomb in the church.¹⁰⁷ The *Necrologium* says that Tiberius was buried in a tomb of Proconnesian marble in the mausoleum of Constantine. This last detail is certainly incorrect, for no such tomb is mentioned by any of the versions of the *Catalogus sepulchrorum*; the tomb must have been in the main body of the church, which the compiler of the *Catalogus* does not take into account. At the date of Tiberius II's death, therefore, there would have been only three tombs in the mausoleum, those of Justinian, Theodora, and Justin II, and it would seem probable that at that time they occupied the apse and the northern and southern arms of the cross, thus giving the impression of the "fullness" we have seen already in the Mausoleum of Constantine. Tiberius II and Anastasia were consequently buried elsewhere in the church. Not till Sophia died, after the close of the century,¹⁰⁸ were the tombs of her husband and herself placed close to that of Justinian, where Mesarites was to see them much later, and the way thus opened for further imperial burials in the mausoleum.

Group B

Maurice (582-602) and his family were buried in the church of St. Mamas.¹⁰⁹ It is possible that this had been arranged before his death and was not simply a consequence of his downfall, for his widow or sister can scarcely have been in a position to make elaborate arrangements for his obsequies. The body of Phocas (602-10) was burnt and the ashes scattered,¹¹⁰ while his wife Leontia, who apparently survived him,¹¹¹ was of course denied an imperial funeral. Heraclius resumed the use of the mausoleum of Justinian for his first wife Fabia, who was crowned under the name of Eudocia and died on 13 August 612,¹¹² and thenceforward it was regularly employed by his family. The various lists, however, are in some confusion owing to the fact that his son, grandson, and great-grandson were all named Constantine, but this is a regular feature of Byzantine historiography. The brief three months' reign of Heraclius' son Heraclius Constantine in the spring of 641 was generally forgotten, so that Constans II (641-68) and Constantine IV (668-85) were treated as Heraclius' son and grandson instead of as his grandson and great-grandson respectively.¹¹³ To complicate matters still further, the nickname "Pogonatus" which had originally been applied to Constans II was transferred to Constantine IV.¹¹⁴

¹⁰⁷ Theophanes, A.M. 6085 (ed. de Boor, i. 271), in recording Anastasia's death in A.D. 594. Maurice's father Paul died the same year and was also buried in "the imperial mausoleum," which must refer here simply to the church (*loc. cit.*).

¹⁰⁸ The date of Sophia's death is unknown, but she was still alive at Easter (26 March) 601 (Theophanes, A.M. 6093; p. 281).

¹⁰⁹ Details in *De Ceremon.*, ii. 42 (pp. 646-7); see *infra*, p. 47.

¹¹⁰ Theophanes, A.M. 6102 (p. 299).

¹¹¹ She is mentioned as still alive in 607 (*ibid.*, A.M. 6099; p. 294), and the absence of her tomb from the lists is sufficient ground for believing that she survived her husband.

¹¹² *Chron. Pasch.*, a. 612 (p. 702), which mentions her burial in the church of the Holy Apostles.

¹¹³ E.g. the *Chronographia* attributed to Nicephorus ascribes to Constantine *son* of Heraclius a reign of twenty-eight years, i.e. 640-68, and says he died in Sicily, while Constantine *grandson* of Heraclius is credited with seventeen years, i.e. 668-85 (ed. de Boor, p. 99).

¹¹⁴ E. W. Brooks, "Who was Constantine Pogonatus?" *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 17 (1908), 460-2. I have not been able to consult G. Ostrogorsky, "Konstantin Porfirogenit o Konstantinu Pogonatu,"

In the *Catalogus sepulchrorum* the confusion on this last point is extreme, for Constans II is described as *filius Heraclii*, *nepos Pogonatis*, and Constantine IV as *filius Pogonis*, while neither is himself actually given the nickname of *Pogonatus*.

It would seem that six tombs in all were employed for members of the Heraclian dynasty:

1. Heraclius (610-41). White Docimian.
2. Fabia (Eudocia), his wife († 612). Green Thessalian.
3. (Heraclius) Constantine (641), with his wife Gregoria. Proconnesian.
4. Fausta, wife of Constans II. Green Thessalian.
5. Constantine IV (668-85), with his wife Anastasia († *post* 710). Sagarian.
6. Eudocia, first wife of Justinian II. Variegated rose-colored Docimian.

There is no problem about the first two of these, apart from a trivial discrepancy between the sources as to the nature of the marble used for Heraclius' tomb.¹¹⁵ Nor is Fausta any problem, despite the fact that the *Catalogus* (text L) describes her as the wife of Constantine Pogonatus. Though the name of Constans II's wife is nowhere mentioned in the narrative sources, we know that Heraclius Constantine's wife was named Gregoria and Constantine IV's was Anastasia, so Fausta—an inauspicious name, one would think, for an emperor named *Constantinus*—must by elimination have been the wife of Constans II. As for Eudocia, her name was taken by the compiler of the *Catalogus sepulchrorum* as that of a wife of Justinian the Great, so that she is described as such and placed appropriately after Theodora in the MS, but Reiske¹¹⁶ is certainly correct in supposing that she must be the first wife of Justinian II, whose name is unknown to us.¹¹⁷ As for the Constantines, the one described as "Pogonatus" who was buried in a tomb of Proconnesian marble was really Heraclius Constantine (641); the other, described as grandson of Heraclius and son of Constantine Pogonatus in the *Catalogus* and as *filius Pogonis* in the *Necrologium*, was Constantine IV (668-85). Though the latter's wife Anastasia is not mentioned in the *Catalogus*, there seems every likelihood that the *Necrologium* is correct in saying that she was buried with her husband, even though it is incorrect about the material of his tomb.¹¹⁸

Other members of the Heraclian dynasty were denied a place in the mausoleum. Some of them, like Heraclius' second wife Martina and his son Heracleonas, as well as Heraclius and Tiberius, the brothers of Constantine IV, had enjoyed for a time imperial rank, but all of them had been disgraced and

Zgodovinski Casopis, 6-7 (1952-3), 116ff. Brooks exaggerates the uniqueness of Constans II's beard; it was no more remarkable than that of Heraclius, at least if the coins are any guide.

¹¹⁵ *Infra*, p. 48.

¹¹⁶ *De Ceremon.*, ii. 767. To the arguments he adduces one may add the fact that, since Justinian II's first wife presumably died before he was deposed in 695, one would expect to find a tomb belonging to her in the mausoleum of Constantine.

¹¹⁷ Her existence, so far as the literary sources are concerned, is a deduction from the fact that in 705 Justinian II had a daughter old enough to be promised in marriage to the Bulgarian khan Terbel (Nicephorus, ed. de Boor, p. 42).

¹¹⁸ The *Necrologium* describes it as of Thessalian instead of Sagarian marble.

deprived of their titles before they died.¹¹⁹ Others who died as children were probably buried with their parents, the fact not being of sufficient consequence for mention in the sources. Both Justinian II and his son Tiberius, who was murdered with him in 711, were denied an imperial funeral, but Tiberius was buried in the monastery of SS. Cosmas and Damian by the side of the Golden Horn.¹²⁰

Of the five emperors who bridged the gap between the Heraclian and Isaurian dynasties, only Anastasius II was to find a resting place in the church of the Holy Apostles. Leontius (695–8) and Tiberius III (698–705), who were put to death by Justinian II, were buried on the island of Protê; Philippicus (711–14) was buried in the monastery of Dalmatoi; and Theodosius III (715–6) became a monk at Ephesus and was buried in the church of St. Philip by the harbor.

Group C

Under Leo III the series of imperial tombs in the mausoleum of Justinian was resumed, though oddly enough in favor of a fallen emperor. Both Anastasius III (714–5) and his wife Irene were buried there, Anastasius in a sarcophagus of Sagarion and Irene in one of Hierapolitan marble. How Irene managed to ensure that this was done we are not told. Although Leo III had Anastasius executed in 720 for conspiracy, the sources suggest that the fallen Emperor was a foolish man misled by bad advisers, so that Leo may have felt disposed to show indulgence for his memory.

The tombs of the Isaurian emperors and their families were seven in number. Leo III and his wife Maria were buried together¹²¹ in the same sarcophagus (1); then came (2) Constantine V, (3) Constantine V's first wife Irene the Khazar, who died in 750,¹²² (4) Constantine's second wife Maria, who died in 751 a few months after her marriage,¹²³ (5) Constantine's sisters Cosmo and Irene, about whom nothing is known, (6) Leo IV, and (7) Leo's wife Irene, who herself ruled as sole *basileus*—after she had deposed and blinded her son Constantine VI—from 797 to 802.

Two of these tombs, those of Constantine V and Irene, require a word of explanation. Irene was deposed in 802 and exiled to Mytilene; when she died a year later her body was brought back to Prinkipo and buried there.¹²⁴ We

¹¹⁹ Martina and Heracleonas died and were buried in the monastery known as τὸ Δεσποτικόν (Leo Grammaticus, *Chron.*, p. 157). This was presumably the same as that in which Theodosia, widow of Leo V, was interred (*infra*, Appendix, note 170).

¹²⁰ Nicephorus, ed. de Boor, p. 48. On the monastery of the Anargyroi, see Janin, *op. cit.*, pp. 296–300, though he has overlooked this text, which shows that by 711 it had been rebuilt after its destruction at the hands of the Avars in 629.

¹²¹ So the *Necrologium*; the *Catalogus sepulchrorum* does not mention Maria.

¹²² The date of her death is not given, but her son Leo IV was born on 25 January 750 (Theophanes, A.M. 6241; p. 426) and her successor Maria died only a little more than a year later; see next note. She had received the name of Irene on the occasion of her arrival at Constantinople for baptism and marriage (*ibid.*, A.M. 6224; p. 410).

¹²³ Nicephorus, p. 65, the event being placed soon after the coronation of the infant Leo IV, which Theophanes makes the last entry for A.M. 6241 (p. 426). Maria was so unimportant that the compiler of the *Catalogus* did not even know her name.

¹²⁴ *Infra*, Appendix, note 161.

have this on the authority of Theophanes, an unimpeachable witness, and it is confirmed by the *Necrologium*. Version L of the *Catalogus sepulchrorum*, on the other hand, equally clearly places her sepulchre in the mausoleum of Justinian.¹²⁵ As for the tomb of Constantine V, the *Catalogus* describes it as one of green Thessalian marble, in which Constantine, the son of the Isaurian, had lain; it then goes on to say that when Constantine's body was taken out and burnt by Michael III and Theodora, the sarcophagus was also removed and broken up, thereby providing some of the material used in the construction of the Church of the Pharos. There is a manifest contradiction between these two statements, for the first sentence implies that the sarcophagus was still in the mausoleum when the *Catalogus* was compiled. On the other hand, its removal during the iconodule reaction of Michael's III's reign is both probable in itself and borne out by other sources.¹²⁶ It would seem, therefore, that the tomb was really removed, and that the *Catalogus*, in describing its presence in the mausoleum, was recording an arrangement that had formerly existed but no longer did so. If Michael III removed a tomb from the mausoleum, however, it would have left room for another, and we have seen already that neither Basil I nor any later emperor found a place there for burial. The explanation can probably be found in the other contradiction between Irene's burial at Prinkipo and the presence of her tomb in the Mausoleum of Justinian. It would surely be natural for Theodora and Michael, after having disposed of the arch-iconoclast, to have brought back from exile the body of the Empress responsible for the restoration of images in 787 for honorable burial in the imperial mausoleum.

The addition of so many tombs during the Isaurian period must have left the mausoleum very crowded. It now contained no fewer than eighteen sarcophagi, and the political upheavals that began in the reign of Constantine VI cannot have been altogether unwelcome to the officials of the church. Already one Isaurian princess, Constantine V's sister Anna, wife of the usurper Artavasdus, had not received imperial burial.¹²⁷ Constantine VI's five uncles were disgraced and blinded in the course of his reign and we are ignorant of the dates of their deaths and their places of burial; certainly these were not in the church of the Holy Apostles. Their downfall also probably accounts for the fact that there was no imperial tomb for Constantine V's third wife Eudocia, who, after giving birth to four sons, had been crowned Augusta on 1 April 769.¹²⁸ Constantine VI himself, his widow Maria, and his daughters Euphrosyne (second wife of Michael II) and Irene were buried in a single sarcophagus in the monastery of the Lady Euphrosyne.¹²⁹ We do not know what became of Constantine VI's second wife Theodota. The doubtful legality of her marriage would have

¹²⁵ The C and R texts do not mention it, but this section is so abbreviated in them that the omission is without significance.

¹²⁶ *Infra*, p. 53.

¹²⁷ This at least is to be presumed, though we know nothing positive. Artavasdus and his two sons, including his co-Emperor Nicephorus, were blinded and paraded in the Hippodrome after their downfall, but nothing is said of their ultimate fate (Theophanes, A.M. 6235 [i. 420]; Nicephorus, p. 62).

¹²⁸ Theophanes, A.M. 6260 (i. 443-4); Nicephorus, p. 77.

¹²⁹ *Infra*, p. 55.

rendered uncertain her title to an imperial funeral, but at least her son Leo, who was born in October 796 and died on 1 May 797,¹³⁰ would have been buried in the church of the Holy Apostles. Perhaps he may have shared one of the many Isaurian tombs with its previous occupant, but if so, no historian has troubled to record the fact.

Group D

The last group of tombs in the mausoleum were those of members of the Amorian dynasty. None of the four emperors who ruled between 802 and 820 received imperial burial.¹³¹ Nicephorus I (802–11) was killed in Bulgaria; his skull was converted into a drinking cup for the Khan and his body was burned. Since his wife was not buried in the mausoleum and is never mentioned in the chronicles—we do not even know her name—it is reasonable to infer that she died before his accession. His son and successor Stauracius (811), who died as a monk, was buried in the Staurakion monastery, as was Stauracius' wife Theophano, the two sharing a single tomb. Michael I (811–13) was likewise deposed and died as a monk; so it was natural that he should be buried as such, first on the island of Platê and subsequently in the church of St. Michael at Satyros in Bithynia. Nothing is known of the burial place of his wife Procopia, daughter of Nicephorus I, who in 813 was forced to enter the nunnery called after her namesake St. Procopia. His eldest son and co-Emperor Theophylact, mutilated in 813 and compelled to enter religion under the name of Eustratius, died five years after the death of his father and was buried in the same church; the second son Nicetas eventually became patriarch of Constantinople under the name of Ignatius and, since he died in office (23 October 877), he at least was buried in a worthy fashion;¹³² the third son Stauracius, named after his uncle, died before his father and was probably buried at Platê, but details are lacking.¹³³ Finally Leo V (813–20) was murdered and buried on the island of Protê; his widow Theodosia and the Emperor's mother were settled on the island of Chalkitês (Halki) in the Prince's group and his four sons, of whom the eldest, Smpad or Symbatios, had been associated with him under the name of Constantine, were mutilated and—apart from one who died and was buried with Leo—were sent into exile on Protê. None of them received an imperial funeral.¹³⁴

The tombs of the Amorian dynasty in the mausoleum were five in number, those of Michael II (820–9) and his wife Thecla, that of Theophilus (829–42), and those of the latter's son and colleague Constantine and his daughter Maria. Their identifications, as preserved in the records of the church, seem to have been extremely imperfect, and the various accounts are in great confusion. Their discrepancies can be tabulated as follows:

¹³⁰ Theophanes, A.M. 6289 (p. 471).

¹³¹ For the details that follow, see *infra*, p. 55 ff.

¹³² His body was placed first in Santa Sophia, subsequently in St. Menas by the Bosphorus, and was finally buried at Satyros (Nicetas, *Vita Ignatii*, in Migne, PG, 105, cols. 557, 560).

¹³³ These particulars of the fate of Michael's family are from Theoph. Cont., pp. 19–21, and Nicetas, *Vita Ignatii*, cols. 489, 492.

¹³⁴ *Infra*, Appendix, note 170.

	L	C	R	<i>Necrologium</i>
Michael II	green Thessalian	Proconnesian	—	white Proconnesian
Thecla	Sagarian			
Theophilus	green	green	green	Proconnesian
Constantine	green	—	—	—
Maria	Sagarian	—	—	—

The omissions in C and R have no particular significance, since these lists are much less complete than L, and the *Necrologium* records only actual sovereigns. The main complications are: *a* the nature and consequently the identification of the tombs, *b* the conflict of evidence as to whether Michael II was buried with his wife or not, confusion being further created by the *Necrologium* stating (wrongly) that his wife was named Maria, and *c* the fact that C adds a further sepulchre to the Mausoleum of Constantine and ascribes it to Michael “the Amorian,” the other references to him using his usual nickname, “the Stammerer.”

There is no fully satisfactory way of accounting for these anomalies. A general shuffling round of bodies and sarcophagi in the tenth and eleventh centuries between the compilation of the various lists seems most unlikely. The safest procedure is to follow the guidance of L, for its assertion that Michael II was buried in the mausoleum of Justinian in a tomb of green Thessalian marble is confirmed by the Continuator of Theophanes.¹³⁵ In ascribing to Michael II a white marble tomb, the *Necrologium* is evidently relying on a text of the *Catalogus* close to that of C, which diverges from the more reliable version L and is also wrong in placing Michael II and Thecla in the same tomb. That the *Necrologium* is wrong in attributing Theophilus a white marble tomb may also be taken as certain, for it gives him in addition a quite incorrect obit; there was evidently confusion in the entries regarding him which cannot now be sorted out.

c. The two “Stoas”

There remain, finally, the two “stoas,” the northern one of them containing the tombs of Julian (360–3) and Jovian (363–4) and the southern one those of Arcadius (395–408), his wife Eudoxia († 6 October 404), and his son Theodosius II (408–50). The evidence regarding them has recently been collected and discussed by Downey,¹³⁶ who argues that they were small independent buildings detached from the main church and to the north and south of it. They were cruciform in plan, with an entrance from the west, since the sarcophagi of Arcadius, Eudoxia, and Theodosius II are described by the *Catalogus* as standing respectively “towards the south,” “towards the east,” and “towards the north.” The fact that some of the texts describe the “stoas” as being *parts* of the church, and burials in them as being *in* the church, is understandable if both buildings were very close to the church and within its precincts.

¹³⁵ Theoph. Cont., p. 84.

¹³⁶ “The Tombs of the Byzantine Emperors,” 45–48.

So far as the southern "stoa" is concerned Mr. Downey's reasoning seems to me justified, and one can probably see a parallel between this small mausoleum and that of Galla Placidia at Ravenna, even if the absence of columns in the latter case might cast doubt on a claim on its behalf to the name of "stoa."¹³⁷ The mausoleum of Galla Placidia, constructed only a few decades after its counterpart in Constantinople, is also a small cruciform building holding three great sarcophagi, the largest, that of the Empress herself, occupying the place of honor facing the entrance, and those traditionally ascribed to her husband Constantius III and her father Honorius being on the left and right respectively.¹³⁸ Though it is now separated from the church of Santa Croce, also constructed by Galla Placidia, by the width of a street, this has been the case only since the sixteenth century; formerly the church of Santa Croce was much larger than it is today—the western part was demolished in 1602 and the remainder restored out of all recognition in 1716—and the mausoleum was linked with it by a portico.¹³⁹ Downey has made a good case for attributing the construction of the "stoa" in which Eudoxia and her family were buried to the Empress herself—if it had been later in date it is difficult to believe that Arcadius would not have been given the place of honor—and it would seem likely that Galla Placidia, in constructing her mausoleum in Ravenna, had in mind the model of that in the church of the Holy Apostles.

The northern "stoa," however, seems to have been of a different character from the southern one. It must, in the first place, have been unlike it in shape since it held only two sarcophagi instead of three; all that we know of the various mausolea indicates that lack of space was a chronic source of difficulty and another tomb would have been placed in the northern "stoa" if there had been room for it. Secondly, as Downey has noted, there are slight but perhaps significant differences in the wording of C and R when describing the relation of the "stoas" to the church: both texts describe the northern stoa as "another stoa of the same church to the north" (στοὰ ἑτέρα τοῦ αὐτοῦ ναοῦ πρὸς ἄρκτον) while C describes the southern one as "another stoa to the south of the same church" (στοὰ ἑτέρα πρὸς μεσημβρίαν τοῦ αὐτοῦ ναοῦ) and R simply as "another stoa," the phrase τοῦ αὐτοῦ ναοῦ being either differently placed or omitted altogether. A similar distinction is made in the *Necrologium*, where Julian's body is said to be *in septentrionali parte in templo Sanctorum Apostolorum* while those of Arcadius and Eudoxia are *in templo Sanctorum Apostolorum ... ad*

¹³⁷ *Supra*, note 27.

¹³⁸ These ascriptions are traditional and quite unsupported by concrete evidence. The seated figure of Galla Placidia, which was visible through a hole in the side of the largest tomb up to its accidental destruction by fire in 1577, must be written off as a late medieval effigy and not her embalmed figure: see C. Ricci, *Il Mausoleo di Galla Placidia* (Rome, 1914), 19–20. It should perhaps be said that there is no evidence for the fairly widespread belief that Byzantine emperors were buried seated; nor was embalming a regular practice, though we hear of it occasionally when an emperor died away from the capital. The little that is known about Byzantine imperial funerals—and this comes mainly from the very brief chapter in the *De Ceremoniis*, i. 60 (Bonn ed., i. 275–6), helped out by occasional descriptions in other sources, e.g. the references of Corippus to the funeral of Justinian—has been examined by H. Grauert in an article replying to Ladner's attack on the veracity of the traditional account of Otto III's opening of Charlemagne's grave ("Zu den Nachrichten über die Bestattung Karls d. Gr.," *Hist. Jahrbuch der Görres-Gesellschaft*, 14 (1893), 312–5).

¹³⁹ Ricci, *op. cit.*, p. 47 ff.

porticum meridianum. Thirdly, as Downey also observes, lists C and R describe the southern "stoa" as being roofless and in a ruinous condition, while there is no similar comment on the northern one; this difference might be explicable by the first being a separate building and the second part of the main church. Finally, while Eudoxia or Arcadius or Theodosius II were, as ruling sovereigns, in a position to erect a separate mausoleum for themselves, the same would not have been true of either Julian's or Jovian's heirs. Julian's executors had already fulfilled their duty in erecting for him a mausoleum at Tarsus; Jovian's successor might allow the late Emperor an imperial funeral, but is scarcely likely to have constructed a special mausoleum on his behalf.

The probability, then, is that the northern "stoa" was not a separate building but an already existing side-chapel of the church and that it was simply regarded as suitable for housing the tomb of Jovian when—if the view put forward earlier is correct—this was moved out of the mausoleum of Constantine to make room for that of Theodosius. Since there was room in it for a second sarcophagus, that of Julian was placed beside it when this in due course was brought to Constantinople. It is true that there was no blood relationship between the two Emperors, but they had at least been comrades-in-arms, and the very fact that Jovian, a devout Christian, had been maintained in his military rank and office by Julian would suffice to make the juxtaposition of their tombs less anomalous than any other arrangement that could easily have been devised under the circumstances.

APPENDIX

ANALYSIS OF SECTIONS II AND III OF THE *NECROLOGIUM*.

The reliability of the *Necrologium* can be estimated only from a detailed analysis of its contents, which may in any case be of use as a general guide to the obits of the Byzantine emperors between 337 and 1042. The following survey covers the factual statements in the work, with a note in each case saying whether or not they are "correct." Such a description can of course mean no more than "confirmed by some other apparently reliable source," which in the case of the tombs means generally "confirmed by the *Catalogus sepulchrorum* in one or other of its versions." The position and material of individual sarcophagi, however, are sometimes mentioned in the narrative texts.

The usual elements in each entry are six in number: (1) obit or date of deposition, (2) circumstances of death or deposition, (3) place of burial, (4) nature of tomb, (5) name of wife, coupled often with a statement as to whether she was buried with her husband or separately, and (6) length of reign. One or more of these items may be omitted and their order is variable, though the obit is normally placed first and the length of reign last. The statement of the empress' name has often become detached from that of the place of burial and added to the length of the reign, so that one finds such phrases as that for, e.g. Constantine the Great: *regnavit cum Helena, matre sua, ann. 33*. The emperor's nickname, if he had one, is usually noted. The length of reign was computed in varying ways, fractions being sometimes ignored and sometimes treated as if they were complete years. I have not commented on these unless there is something quite abnormal about the figures.

The words used for "tomb" are something of a problem. The commonest term is *pila*, which has not normally the meaning of sarcophagus, but since it gives the impression of a huge block of stone is not a bad way of describing at least the largest of the sarcophagi. Though presumably it was used to translate λάρναξ, I have preferred to render it as "block" in order to keep closer to its normal meaning. *Lanarkum* is used once, for the tomb of Valentinian, and is simply a transcription of λαρνάκιον, which the *Catalogus sepulchrorum* (text L) applies only to smaller sarcophagi.¹ A third term, *labrum*, occurs seven times, for the tombs of Julian, Jovian, Zeno, Anastasius I, Justin I, Justinian I, and Justin II. Julian's tomb is known from the *Catalogus* to have been cylindrical, but there is no reason to suppose that this was true of the others; I have kept the term, however, since it may possibly imply tombs having a curved or basin-shaped lid, like that of Otto II in the atrium of Old St. Peter's which is so labelled in a late medieval sketch.²

In the notes on the entries I have limited myself to citing the most important primary authorities, since nothing is to be gained by citing later sources which have done no more than copy the evidence of earlier ones that still survive. Leo Grammaticus has been taken as representing Symeon Logothete, the Old Slavonic version of which, edited by V. Sreznevski at St. Petersburg in 1905, was not accessible to me, and Cedrenus or Zonaras—only the fuller of the two is cited—as representing Scylitzes. Page references are normally to the Bonn Corpus editions unless there are good reasons for preferring another, as is the case for Theophanes and Nicephorus, where de Boor's are intended. Citations from modern authors are limited to discussions of special points on which the primary authorities are defective or contradict each other.³ The best general conspectus of the lives of the emperors and their families is still the *Familiae byzantinae* of Ducange, but for individual periods and problems much help can be gained from the works of Tillemont (to 518), Goyau (to 395), Seeck (311–476), Clinton (to 641), Muralt, Bury, Stein, and Ostrogorsky. The latter's *History of the Byzantine Empire* includes references to most of the recent literature.

No advantage would be gained by printing the full text of the *Necrologium* as it stands in Cessi's edition. The following analysis consists of a summary of the notice of each emperor, accompanied by statements regarding the reliability of the information there contained and a discussion of such difficult points as may come up.

CONSTANTINE I (306–337). Son of Constantius by his concubine Helena. Born in Britain, and founded in Thrace the city bearing his name where he established the government of the empire and which he made the first city of the east. Died 20 May (*rectè 22 May*),⁴ and was buried in a porphyry block (*correct*) in the mausoleum which he himself had built in the church of the Holy Apostles. He reigned with his mother Helena for 33 years.

The last sentence, *regnavit cum matre sua ann. 33*, is presumably a misunderstanding of the Greek text, which must have said that he was buried with his mother Helena, and reigned 33 years. There were rival traditions on the subject of St. Helena's place of burial, some saying that it was at Rome and others that she shared Constantine's tomb at Constantinople. The last belief, it is true, was not very firmly held; Mesarites refers to it as being a matter of general repute. It is possible

¹ Downey, "Tombs of the Byzantine Emperors," 30–31, nos. 16, 17, 40, 41.

² Delbrueck, *Antike Porphywerke*, 214.

³ There are particularly useful examinations of problems of imperial dating in G. Ostrogorsky, "Die Chronologie des Theophanes im 7. und 8. Jahrhundert," *Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher*, 7 (1930), 1–56; E. Kornemann, *Doppelprincipat und Reichsteilung im Imperium Romanum* (Leipzig-Berlin, 1930), which includes a section on the Byzantine period by Ostrogorsky; and Dölger's review of Kornemann-Ostrogorsky in *Byz. Zeitschrift*, 33 (1933), 136–44.

⁴ Socrates, i. 40 (Migne, PG, 67, col. 180); *Cons. Constant.*, a. 337 (in Mon. Germ. Hist., *Chron. min.*, i. 235). He is commemorated by the Orthodox Church, however, on 21 May.

that both are correct; that she was buried first at Rome and that her body was transferred to Constantinople after the mausoleum of Constantine was completed.⁵

Though she is not mentioned in the *Catalogus sepulchrorum*, Constantine's wife Fausta, who died under obscure circumstances in 326, may also have been buried with him. Cedrenus⁶ alleges that she shared the tomb with Constantine and Helena, and it is inherently probable that Constantius II would have wished to honor his mother by securing for her, after Constantine's death, an imperial tomb.

CONSTANTIUS II (337–361), with Constantine II and Constans, sons of Constantine the Great. Died 3 November (*correct*);⁷ buried in a porphyry block (*correct*) in the church of the Holy Apostles. He reigned 24 years.

Constantius II died in Cilicia, and it was Jovian, the future emperor, who superintended the transport of his remains to Constantinople for burial "amongst his relatives" (*prope necessitudines eius*).⁸ His burial in the mausoleum of Constantine is generally attested, and Mesarites records the position of his tomb on the south side of the building.

Constantius II married three times, and it is possible, despite the silence of the *Catalogus*, that at least his second wife Eusebia was buried in the same tomb as himself.⁹

JULIAN the Apostate (360–363). Died 26 June (*correct*)¹⁰ in Persia; his body was brought to Constantinople and buried in the north part (*correct*) of the Church of the Holy Apostles in a porphyry *labrum* (*correct*). He reigned 4 years 8 months (*error for 7 years [iiii for vii], 8 months, reckoning from his nomination as Caesar on 6 November 355*).

Julian was first buried at Tarsus, in accordance with directions he had left behind, and the date of his reburial at Constantinople is not known precisely. It was certainly after 390 and probably between 390 and 395.

The *terminus post quem* is that of the completion of Book XXV of the *History* of Ammianus Marcellinus, since Ammianus, writing with an eye to his half-pagan friends of the senatorial class at Rome, declares that, without wishing to depreciate the Cydnus, he would regard it as more fitting if Julian's remains were laid to rest beside the Tiber, in sight of the monuments of his predecessors in the Eternal City.¹¹ In 389 or 390, therefore, when this part of the work was completed and published,¹² Julian's tomb was still at Tarsus. As for the *terminus ante quem*, it is difficult to imagine any emperor later than Theodosius I interesting himself in the matter, and it seems to me possible that Ammianus' comment may well have had the unexpected consequence of causing the last champion of paganism to be laid to rest in a Christian church. Ammianus' remarks occur in the last chapter of Book XXV, which closes the section published in 389–90, and may have come to Theodosius' attention during his Italian visit of 391–2. It is true that the religious views of Julian and Theodosius could hardly have been more different, but it was

⁵ J. Ebersolt, "Sarcophages impériaux de Rome et de Constantinople," *BZ*, 30 (1929–30), 582–7, where the sources are cited and discussed. Ebersolt argues that the so-called sarcophagus of St. Helena in the Vatican is really that of Constantius Chlorus.

⁶ Bonn ed., i. 519–20.

⁷ Ammianus Marcellinus (xxi. 15. 3) gives the date as 5 October (3 *non. Oct.*), but Socrates (ii. 47) and the *Consul. Constant.* (in *Chron. min.*, i.240) both give 3 November (3 *non. Nov.*). Ammianus evidently made a slip in reading his notes, forgetting that he was not dealing with kalends (O. Seeck, "Zur Chronologie und Quellenkritik des Ammianus Marcellinus," *Hermes*, 41 [1906], p. 513; cf. 485–6 on other chronological weaknesses in the work).

⁸ Amm. Marc., xxi. 16. 19.

⁹ So Leo Grammaticus, Bonn ed., p. 91, whence Cedrenus, i. 531. Both describe Eusebia as the Emperor's first wife; she was in fact his second.

¹⁰ This is the date given by all the earlier sources. Theophanes, by a common error, gives 26 January (A.M. 5855; p. 53).

¹¹ Amm. Marc., xxv. 10. 5.

¹² A new section of the *History*, which apparently came out in instalments, starts with Book XXVI and the accession of Valentinian I. On internal evidence this Book can be dated to 391.

Theodosius who was most active in turning the church of the Holy Apostles into an imperial mausoleum, and the paganism of Julian could easily be overlooked in view of the imperial office he had held. The silence of Zosimus regarding such a reburial is not proof to the contrary, for although Zosimus wrote in the early sixth century and copied Eunapius of Sardis, who wrote in the early fifth, both authors were professing pagans who would undoubtedly have refrained from alluding to such an event.

With regard to the tomb itself, all the sources agree that it stood in the northern "stoa" of the church, side by side with that of Jovian, and most of them mention that it was "cylindrical," the fact being evidently sufficiently unusual to require comment. One of the surviving sarcophagi at Istanbul which is so shaped has consequently been customarily identified as that of Julian, but Mango¹³ has pointed out that, since one of the sarcophagi known in the eighteenth century and no longer extant was also cylindrical, this cannot be regarded as certain. It is also probable that Julian was not the only occupant of the tomb, for Leo Grammaticus says that when the body of Julian was brought from Tarsus to Constantinople, it was to be buried beside his wife Helena.¹⁴ Since we know that she had earlier been buried at Rome this would mean that she was transferred to Constantinople in the late fourth century, probably by Theodosius I.

A word should be said regarding Julian's epitaph, which has come down to us in two versions. The shorter one, in two lines, is given by Zosimus¹⁵ and was picked up in the *Anthologia Palatina*, where it is credited to Libanius.¹⁶ The longer version, in four lines, is given by Cedrenus¹⁷ and Zonaras¹⁸ who are here copying Scylitzes. The last line is common to both versions but the others are different: that of Zosimus alludes to Julian's *burial* beyond the Tigris, the longer version to his burial by the banks of the Cydnus. A further complication is that both Cedrenus and Zonaras imply that the epitaph, despite its allusion to the Cydnus, had accompanied Julian's sarcophagus to Constantinople and was to be seen there in the eleventh century.¹⁹ This last must surely have been the case, and there can likewise be little doubt that the version of the epitaph given by Cedrenus and Zonaras is the correct one. That of Zosimus, with its quite misleading reference to the Tigris, may be either a quotation from memory on the part of either Zosimus or his source Eunapius, or conceivably a first draft of the epitaph formulated when the news of Julian's death had reached his friends and nothing had yet been determined regarding his place of burial. It is significant that the striking last line is common to both versions.

JOVIAN (363-364). Died 17 February (*correct*)²⁰ at *Tuchera*, a city of Galatia (*incorrect, but explicable*);²¹ his body was brought to Constantinople and buried in a *labrum* of porphyry²² in the church of the Holy Apostles (*correct*). His wife (Charito) was buried with

¹³ *Art. cit.* (*supra*, p. 3, note 3), pp. 401.

¹⁴ Leo Grammaticus, pp. 93-4.

¹⁵ Zosimus, iii. 34. 4 (ed. L. Mendelssohn [Leipzig, 1887] p. 157).

¹⁶ *Epigrammatum Anthologia Palatina*, vii. 747 (ed. F. Dübner, 1 [Paris, 1864], 416), the attribution being certainly fictitious. Cf. R. Förster, "Die Schriftstellerei des Libanios," *Jahrbücher f. classische Philologie*, 22 (1876), 213-4.

¹⁷ Bonn ed., i. 539.

¹⁸ Zonaras, xiii. 13. 24 (Bonn ed., iii. 68). It is included by E. Cougny in his *Appendix nova*, ii. 601 to the *Epigrammatum Anthologia Palatina*, 3 (Paris, 1890), 189.

¹⁹ Maricq, *art. cit.* (*supra*, p. 8, note 33), pp. 371-2, assumes that the epitaph had stayed at Tarsus, but the texts of Cedrenus and Zonaras are quite clear. Cedrenus might have taken the description of Julian's sarcophagus as cylindrical from Leo Grammaticus, but the latter does not give the epitaph. It is, however, true that one has to be wary of chroniclers' assertions that inscriptions are still visible, for the statement may simply have been taken verbally from an earlier writer. Cf. G. Downey, "References to Inscriptions in the Chronicle of Malalas," *Trans. Amer. Philol. Assoc.*, 66 (1935), 55-72.

²⁰ Socrates, iii. 26; iv. 1 (PG, 67, cols. 457, 464).

²¹ He died at Dadastana, on the border between Galatia and Bithynia (Amm. Marc., xxv. 10. 12, and the Greek writers). The translator took the Greek for "the place" (τό χωρίον) ("called Dadastana," or some such phrase) in the original text as being the place-name itself, and so arrived at *Tuchera*.

²² The passage reads *in labro porfiretico Magni Constantini*, and is evidently corrupt. The original text had probably something to the effect that it was in the same building in which Constantine was buried; cf. the *ubi Magnus Constantinus* of the entry under Valentinian I. It was in fact in the northern "stoa," as has been seen already.

him later in the same *labrum* (*correct*).²³ He reigned 1 year 8 months (*incorrect: only 8 months*).²⁴

VALENS (364–378). Died 9 August (*correct*)²⁵ in Thrace, being burned by the Goths with two of his eunuchs in a house in Macedonia (where he had taken refuge after the battle of Adrianople) (*correct*). Since his body was never found it could not be given imperial burial.²⁶ He reigned 13 years.

VALENTINIAN I (364–375). Died 21 March (*incorrect, but explicable*) in Gaul. His body was brought to Constantinople in the time of Theodosius the Great (*not quite correct*) and buried in a porphyry *larnax* (*unconfirmed, but probable*) in the church of the Holy Apostles *ubi Magnus Constantinus* (lies buried) (*correct*). He is buried with his (first) wife Severa (*unconfirmed, but probable*). His second wife Justina died at Milan (*correct*). He reigned 13 years.

Valentinian I died in Pannonia on 17 November 375²⁷ and was immediately embalmed and sent to Constantinople *ut . . . inter divorum reliquias humaretur*. His body did not arrive till a year later, on 28 December 376,²⁸ and even then there was apparently no tomb ready to receive it, so that it was not until 21 February 382 that Theodosius finally presided over the funeral of his great predecessor.²⁹ This date is the probable explanation of the erroneous one given by the *Necrologium* for Valentinian's death. The compiler found the date of the funeral recorded as *9 kal. Mart.*, assumed it was the date of death, and then made the common mistake of failing to adjust the month from March to February.

The chronicler Marcellinus Comes records that Valentinian was buried at Constantinople *apud comitatum regio in sepulchro*,³⁰ and Leo Grammaticus³¹ and the *Necrologium* make it clear that this ambiguous phrase meant no more than burial in imperial company in the church of the Holy Apostles.³² The tomb was presumably in the main body of the church, which explains its omission from the *Catalogus sepulchrorum*. The *Necrologium* is the only authority for the tomb being of porphyry and for Severa being subsequently buried at Valentinian's side, but both details are probable.³³

THEODOSIUS I (379–395). Died 7 January (*error for 17 January*) at Milan (*correct*). His body was brought to Constantinople and buried in a block of porphyry (*correct*) in the

²³ Zonaras, xiii. 14. 23 (Bonn ed., iii. 72).

²⁴ The Dresden MS gives the correct figure of 8 months, but the error may have been in the Greek original, for some Byzantine sources also have 1 year 8 months (e.g. Leo Grammaticus, p. 95).

²⁵ Socrates, iv. 38 (PG, 67, col. 560); *Cons. Const.*, a. 378 (*Chror. min.*, i. 243).

²⁶ *Non est dignus inter Augustos sepelliri*, i.e. as a punishment for his Arianism. This view seems to have been general in orthodox circles. The triumph of orthodoxy in the east after his death consigned to oblivion his Arian wife Albia Domnica and his two daughters Anastasia and Carosa, though the daughters had the distinction of having two public baths, which he founded at Constantinople, named after them (*Chron. Paschale*, a. 364; p. 556). His son Galatus had presumably died young.

²⁷ Ammianus, xxx. 10. 1. The date is correctly given by later Byzantine writers, e.g. Theophanes, A.M. 5867 (p. 62).

²⁸ *Consul. Constant.*, a. 376 (*Chron. min.*, i. 242).

²⁹ *Ibid.*, a. 382 (p. 243).

³⁰ *Divi Valentiniani magni cadavere Theodosius princeps ab Italia reportato apud comitatum regio in sepulchro recondidit* (*Chron.*, a. 382, in *Chron. min.*, ii. 61).

³¹ Bonn ed., p. 96.

³² This was also the view of Downey, "Tombs of the Byzantine Emperors," 46–7, though he did not know of the texts referring definitely to the church. For Schneider's view that *apud comitatum* meant in the precincts of the palace, see *supra*, p. 3, note 3.

³³ Valeria Severa Marina was repudiated by Valentinian in 368 in order that he might marry Justina, but she was restored to favor by her son Gratian after Valentinian's death, and given the imperial title (*Chron. Pasch.*, a. 378; Bonn ed., i. 560). Nothing is known of the date or circumstances of her death. Justina died in the summer of 388 (Rufinus, ii. 17; Sozomen, 7.14; 4. 47) and was presumably buried at Milan. Her Arianism would probably have precluded her burial in the church of the Holy Apostles even if she had died at Constantinople.

mausoleum of Constantine in the church of the Holy Apostles (*correct*) where his wife Flaccilla had previously been buried (*correct*). He reigned 16 years.

The error in the date must be the result of miscopying, for 17 January is well attested.³⁴ From Ambrose's funeral oration, delivered in the presence of Honorius forty days after Theodosius' death, it would appear that the funeral cortege for Constantinople was then on the point of leaving.³⁵ The *Chronicon Paschale* places both its arrival and the Emperor's funeral on 9 November,³⁶ but the first of these dates probably represents an accidental repetition of the second, since it is unlikely that the journey would have taken eight months.

Though the sources are silent on the point, one may conjecture that the Emperor's second wife Galla, who died of a miscarriage in May 394,³⁷ was also, like Flaccilla,³⁸ buried with him.

ARCADIUS (395–408). Died 1 May (*correct*);³⁹ buried in a block of porphyry which stands in a southern portico (*correct*) of the church of the Holy Apostles. With him (i.e. in the same portico, not in the same tomb) is his wife Eudoxia⁴⁰ who died before him (*correct*).⁴¹ He reigned 23 years (*error for 13, ιγ' having been misread as κγ'*).

THEODOSIUS II (408–450). Died 30 July (*rectè 28 July*); buried in a block of Thessalian marble (*incorrect*) in the mausoleum of Constantine (*incorrect*) in the church of the Holy Apostles. His wife Eudocia is not buried with him (*correct*). He reigned 42 years.

This entry is a mass of errors. That of the date of death is trivial, and perhaps due to a confusion between the date of the Emperor's funeral and that of his death,⁴² since 30 miscopied as 28 is not likely palaeographically in either Greek or Latin notation. The others are more serious, but they are in part shared with text C of the *Catalogus*, which also places the tomb of Theodosius II in the mausoleum of Constantine. There has evidently been confusion between Theodosius II and his grandfather, coupled here with a further misreading of the list of sacrophagi.⁴³

Theodosius II was in fact buried in a porphyry tomb in the southern "stoa," as were his parents. At the moment of his death his own tomb was not ready, for he was placed in that of Arcadius,⁴⁴ but despite an ambiguity in text L⁴⁵ it is clear that he ultimately had a separate one for himself. His wife Eudocia, from whom he was estranged in his later years, died at Jerusalem and was buried there in the church of St Stephen.⁴⁶ The year of her death is uncertain.⁴⁷

³⁴ Socrates, v. 26; vi. 1 (PG, 67, cols. 653, 660); *Chron. Pasch.*, a. 394 (p. 565).

³⁵ *De obitu Theodosii*, in PL, 16, cols. 1385–1406, esp. col. 1404.

³⁶ *Chron. Pasch.*, a. 395 (p. 566).

³⁷ Zosimus, iv. 57 (ed. Mendelssohn, p. 213); on the eve of his departure for Italy to suppress the revolt of Eugenius.

³⁸ Flaccilla died in 386 at Skotumis in Thrace (funeral oration by Gregory of Nyssa, PG, 46, cols. 884–5). For the year, see Seeck in Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. "Flaccilla." The day is sometimes given as 14 September, which is that on which she is commemorated by the Church, but this is not necessarily that of her death.

³⁹ Theod. Lector, ii. 63 (PG, 86 [i], col. 213).

⁴⁰ Cf. Leo Grammaticus, p. 46: "his body was laid in the Church of the Holy Apostles, in the southern 'stoa,' where his wife Eudoxia was buried in a Roman [i.e. porphyry] sarcophagus," whence Cedrenus, i. 586.

⁴¹ She died on 6 October 404 and was buried on the 12th (*Chron. Paschale*, a. 404; p. 469).

⁴² Theod. Lector, ii. 64 (PG, 86 [i], col. 213). Cf. Cedrenus, i. 602; there seems to have been some ambiguity as to whether he died two days after a hunting accident or was buried two days after his death. Theophanes, A.M. 5942 (p. 103), gives 20 July, an obvious slip.

⁴³ *Supra*, p. 9.

⁴⁴ Theod. Lector, i. 1 (col. 165).

⁴⁵ It speaks of "both" (ἀμφότεροι) sarcophagi as being of porphyry, when in fact three are in question. Versions C and R have correctly τρία.

⁴⁶ Evagrius, i. 22.

⁴⁷ Cedrenus, i. 607, says she died late in Marcian's reign, i.e. ca. 456, but Nicephorus Callistus, *Hist. eccles.*, xiv. 50, places her death in the fourth year of Leo's reign, i.e. in 460/1.

MARCIAN (450–457). Died on 27 January (*probably correct*),⁴⁸ and was buried with his wife Pulcheria,⁴⁹ daughter of Arcadius, in a porphyry block in the church of the Holy Apostles (*correct*).⁵⁰ He reigned 7 years.

LEO I (457–474), the Great, known as Macellus. Died 30 (or 31) January⁵¹ (30 Jan. *probably correct*), leaving as emperor his grandson Leo II. He was buried in a block of green Thessalian marble (*virtually correct*)⁵² in the church of the Holy Apostles. His wife Verina was buried with him, but much later (*unconfirmed, but probably correct*).⁵³ He reigned 18 years.

The sources are in complete disaccord over the dates of Leo I's death and the coronation of Zeno, with whom Leo II went through the motions of associating himself as emperor a few days after his accession. The divergences may be set out as follows:

	DEATH OF LEO	CROWNING OF ZENO
Auctarium Havniense, a.474 ⁵⁴	18 Jan.	29 Jan.
John Malalas ⁵⁵	3 Feb.	9 Feb.
Theodorus Lector ⁵⁶	Jan.	—
Theophanes ⁵⁷	Jan.	—
<i>Necrologium</i>	30 or 31 Jan.	—

The most likely solution is that Malalas wrote 3 *non. Feb.*, by mistake, for 3 *kal. Feb.*, which would make the correct date 30 January, in agreement with one of the two alternative readings in the *Necrologium*. But there can be no certainty about it, and there is no obvious explanation for the dates in the *Auctarium Havniense*.

ZENO (474–491). Died 9 April (*correct*),⁵⁸ and was buried in a *labrum* of Thessalian marble (*correct*) in the church of the Holy Apostles. A voice was heard from his tomb for three days afterwards crying “Have pity on me,” but because he was hated by his wife Arthemina (*recte Ariadne*) and by the people, they refrained from opening his tomb (*popular legend*).⁵⁹ He reigned 17 years.⁶⁰

⁴⁸ This is the sole authority for the date, but it is known to have been between 26 January, when he was still alive (Theodorus Lector, i. 7, in PG, 86 [i], col. 169), and 7 February, when Leo was proclaimed emperor (*Chron. Pasch.*, a. 457; p. 592). The date 30 April, given by Theophanes, A.M. 5949 (p. 109), is impossible and not easy to explain.

⁴⁹ She died in the second year of the reign, i.e. 451 (Theophanes, A.M. 5945; p. 106). The day is unknown.

⁵⁰ So Cedrenus, i. 607, as well as the *Catalogus sepulchrorum*.

⁵¹ 30 Jan. in MS D, 31 (*die ultimo*) in V^a, date omitted in S.

⁵² The *Catalogus sepulchrorum* distinguishes between the green *hieracites*—a stone the color of a hawk's neck (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xxxvii. 60)—of which Leo's sarcophagus was composed and the green Thessalian stone of several other sarcophagi, but it is easy to understand that they should have been confused. The phrase *pila ... in exprusio lapide* presumably translated something like λάρναξ ἐκ πράσινου λίθου; cf. Leo Grammaticus, p. 115: ἐν λάρνακι πράσινῃ, whence Cedrenus, ii. 615.

⁵³ Verina died in 484 in the fortress of Cherris in Isauria, having been one of the ringleaders in successive revolts against Zeno. Her burial in her husband's tomb cannot have occurred before Zeno's capture of the rebel stronghold in 488.

⁵⁴ *Chron. min.*, i. 307.

⁵⁵ Bonn ed., p. 376.

⁵⁶ ii. 65 (PG, 86 [i], col. 215).

⁵⁷ A.M. 5966 (p. 120).

⁵⁸ Malalas, p. 391; Theophanes, A.M. 6010 (p. 164).

⁵⁹ This story of Zeno's burial alive and of Ariadne's refusal to open the tomb is not found in any of the earlier historians, hostile as they are to Zeno's memory, but appears in Cedrenus, ii. 622, and Zonaras, xiv. 2. 32–35 (Bonn ed., iii 132–3).

⁶⁰ None of the sources assigns any tomb to Zeno's son, the short-lived Leo II (474). Presumably he was buried with either Leo I or Zeno.

ANASTASIUS I (491–518), who was nicknamed Dicoros.⁶¹ Died 8 July (*correct*),⁶² having been struck by lightning. Buried in a *labrum* of porphyry (*not quite correct*) with his wife Ariadne, who predeceased him,⁶³ in the church of the Holy Apostles (*correct*). He reigned 27 years.

Anastasius died on the night of 8/9 July during a violent thunderstorm, but because of fright (so Malalas) or because the palace was actually struck is not clear. The later sources assume that he was himself struck by lightning. The assertion that his sarcophagus was of porphyry is certainly wrong, but that it was of some quite unfamiliar type of marble is shown by the variant readings of the *Catalogus*, where it is described as 'Ἀκυτιανός (L), 'Ἀνακτητιανός (C), or Νικητιανή (R). Yet another variant occurs in Leo Grammaticus and Cedrenus: ἐν λάρνακι [λιθίνῃ] 'Ἀκυντιανῇ.⁶⁴ Downey follows Reiske in interpreting this as "Aquitanian," which is probably correct, for we know that at precisely this period the output of Saint-Béat and other Pyrenean quarries was very large and that "Aquitanian" sarcophagi found great favor all over southern Gaul.⁶⁵ It is difficult to imagine how one would have found its way to Constantinople, but there are references to "Celtic" marble being used in Hagia Sophia.

JUSTIN I (518–527). Died 5 August (*rectè 1 August*), and was buried with his wife Euphemia, who predeceased him (*unconfirmed, but probably correct*), on the right-hand side of the church of the Holy Apostles in the porphyry *labrum* in which Justinian was placed, so that he did not take that of Constantine the Great (*meaning uncertain*).⁶⁶ He reigned 9 years.

The date of Justin's death, as given in the *Catalogus*, must be incorrect, for the *Chronicon Paschale* gives Sunday, 1 August, and the day of the week agrees with that of the month.⁶⁷ Possibly the error arose from misreading the number of the indiction, which was the 5th, as the day of the month. The major difficulty, however, is over the tomb, for the *Necrologium* here is in flat contradiction not only to the *Catalogus sepulchrum*, which is itself not free from error, but also to such narrative sources as allude to it. The meaning of the Latin in the *Necrologium* is also far from clear. The statements of the *Catalogus sepulchrorum* and the *Necrologium* can be set out as follows:

Catalogus sepulchrorum, text L only

a. Justin and his wife *Sophia* were buried in the monastery of St. Thomas,⁶⁸ originally in a tomb of green Thessalian marble; subsequently they were reburied in the same monastery in a

⁶¹ *Supra*, p. 20, note 62. The nickname is explained by John Malalas, Bonn ed., p. 392.

⁶² The precise date is not given by any Byzantine chronicler, but Justin I became emperor on the 9th (*Chron. Pasch.*, a. 518; p. 611) and Anastasius died the night before his successor's election (Const. Porphy., *De Ceremon.*, i. 93; p. 426ff.). Stein, (*Hist. du Bas Empire*, 2, pp. 216–7 and 220, note 2) argues, but I think wrongly, that it was the night of the 9th/10th, not the 8th/9th.

⁶³ She died in 515 (*Chron. Marcellini*, s.a., in *Chron. min.*, ii. 99). Leo Grammaticus (p. 120) and Cedrenus (i. 636) mention the fact that she and Anastasius were buried in the same tomb.

⁶⁴ *Locc. cit.*

⁶⁵ J. B. Ward Perkins, "A Carved Marble Fragment at Riom (Puy-de-Dôme) and the Chronology of the Aquitanian Sarcophagi," *Antiquaries Journal*, 40 (1960), 25–34, arguing against the view of Jean Hubert and Mlle Denise Fossard that they are mainly seventh century.

⁶⁶ *Sepultus est in templo Sanctorum Apostolorum, in parte dextra, in labro porfiretico, quo positus est ipse Iustinianus imperator, pro eo quod non capiebatur pila ipsius Cesaris Magni Constantini*. MS D has *compositus* and V^a *posuit* for *positus* est, D has *capiebat corpus eius pila* for *capiebatur pila ipsius*, and V^a and S have *visari* for *cesaris*; so it is clear that the copyists were equally unable to understand what was meant.

⁶⁷ *Chron. Pasch.*, a. 527 (p. 617). So also Malalas, p. 424, giving a length of reign agreeing with the figure of 9 years 22 days assigned to Justin by the latter. The *Vita S. Sabae* by Cyril of Scythopolis gives August 2 (E. Schwartz, *Kyrrillos von Skythopolis, Texte und Untersuchungen zur Gesch. d. altchristlichen Literatur*, 49, 2 [1939], 170).

⁶⁸ On the monastery, see Janin, *Les églises et les monastères*, 257–60.

mean and narrow tomb of Proconnesian or Picrimian stone which bore the legend "The coffin (γλοσσοκόμος) of Alexander the Domesticus."⁶⁹

b. Michael III was buried in a tomb of green Thessalian marble, which had formerly belonged to *Justinian* the Great, brought by Leo VI from the monastery of the Augusta (this was the same as that of St. Thomas).⁷⁰

Necrologium

Justin I and Euphemia were buried in a porphyry tomb on the right-hand side of the Church of the Holy Apostles.

The problems involved were discussed by Reiske, in his notes to the *Book of Ceremonies*, and, more recently, by Vasiliev⁷¹ and Downey.⁷² Vasiliev's analysis is largely invalidated through his having overlooked the more important of the two references in the *Catalogus sepulchrorum*. Reiske amended *Sophia* to *Euphemia* and *Justinian* to *Justin* (I), since Justin II and Sophia on the one hand, and Justinian on the other, are known to have been buried in the mausoleum of Justinian, while there is independent evidence that Justin I and Euphemia were buried together in a sarcophagus of green Thessalian stone in the monastery of the Augusta.⁷³ Downey makes the ingenious suggestion that there might have been two sarcophagi in this monastery. One was occupied by Justin I and Euphemia; the other had been intended for Justinian but never came into use owing to his having subsequently constructed a new mausoleum in the church of the Holy Apostles. This solution would save the accuracy of text L of the *Catalogus* in referring to 'Ιουστινιανοῦ instead of 'Ιουστίνου but would render quite unintelligible the transfer of the bodies of Justin I and Euphemia to the sarcophagus of Alexander the Domesticus. For this reason I find it unacceptable; the confusion between "Justinian" and "Justin," like that between "Constantine" and "Constantius," is so common as to require no explanation. It seems clear that Justin I and his wife were buried together in the convent of St. Euphemia in a tomb of green Thessalian marble, but that they were dispossessed of this in favor of Michael III when Leo VI succeeded his father in 886.

The further assertion of the *Necrologium* that Justin was buried in a porphyry sarcophagus on the right-hand side of the church of the Holy Apostles is probably erroneous. It is unlikely that some late tenth- or eleventh-century sovereign would have thought of rendering justice to Justin I and his wife by transferring them from their mean and narrow tomb to the Holy Apostles, and more unlikely still that there would have been a vacant or only partially filled porphyry sarcophagus in which they could be interred. But I see no explanation either for the error or for what is meant by the garbled reference to Justinian and the tomb of Constantine the Great.

JUSTINIAN (527–565). Died 3 November (*rectè* 14 November),⁷⁴ having caused Hagia Sophia to be built, and was buried in a *labrum* of a stone which is called *iritionos* from Bithynia⁷⁵ and which stands in the great *sepulchrum*⁷⁶ which he constructed in the church of the Holy Apostles. His wife Theodora is buried separately in a sarcophagus of Hierapolitan⁷⁷ stone, of which "the Vatican" of the Holy Apostles is also made.⁷⁸ She died 18 years before her husband (i.e. in 548: *correct*).⁷⁹ He reigned 39 years.

⁶⁹ *De Ceremon.*, ii. 42 (p. 646). What happened to Alexander's own remains?

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 642.

⁷¹ *Justin the First* (Cambridge, Mass., 1950), 414–7.

⁷² "Tombs of the Byzantine Emperors," 48–51.

⁷³ Leo Grammaticus, p. 124; Cedrenus, i. 642; burial there mentioned in Πάτρια, iii. 183 (ed. Preger, ii. 273).

⁷⁴ *Chron. Pasch.*, a. 566 (p. 688), and other sources. This is the day on which his festival is celebrated by the Orthodox Church.

⁷⁵ The *Catalogus sepulchrorum* also found difficulty over the material, describing it as "an unusual foreign stone, in color between Bithynian and Chalcedonian, something like the stone of Ostrite."

⁷⁶ Here used in the sense of "mausoleum."

⁷⁷ 'Ιεραπολίτης was transcribed as *Ierapolitis* and then miscopied as *ierapditis*, which is the reading of the MS.

⁷⁸ *unde est ipsum baticanum Sanctorum Apostolorum*. I have no idea what *baticanum* was intended to mean.

⁷⁹ She died of cancer on 28 June 548 (John Malalas, p. 484), or perhaps on the 27th (Agnellus, *Lib. pontif. eccles. Ravennatis*, chap. 62, in MGH, *Script. rer. Lang.*, p. 322).

JUSTIN II (565–578), known as *Bizancius*.⁸⁰ Died on 5 October (*correct*)⁸¹ and was buried in a *labrum* of white Proconnesian marble (*correct*) in the mausoleum constructed by Justinian in the church of the Holy Apostles. His wife Sophia, who died a year after him (*incorrect*)⁸² is buried separately (*correct*).⁸³ He reigned 13 years.

TIBERIUS II (578–582). Died 12 August (*rectè 14 August*), and was buried in a block of Proconnesian marble in the mausoleum of Constantine (*incorrect*) in the church of the Holy Apostles (*correct*). He reigned 20 years (7 years in one MS, both figures—xx and vii—being errors for iii).

The circumstances of Tiberius' death are given very precisely by the *Chronicon Paschale*.⁸⁴ Having fallen ill and feeling his end approaching, he created Maurice Tiberius Caesar on 5 August and Emperor on 13 August, marrying him at the same time to his daughter Constantina. He died on the 14th in the suburb of Hebdomon, and from there his body was brought to the city, where on the following day it was laid to rest in the church of the Holy Apostles.

Tiberius II was buried in the church of the Holy Apostles, in company with his wife Anastasia who died in 594,⁸⁵ but the material and position of his sarcophagus are something of a mystery. According to Cedrenus it was of green marble and stood in the ἡρώων, which in the context seems to imply the mausoleum of Justinian;⁸⁶ according to the *Necrologium* it was of Proconnesian marble, which was white, and stood in the mausoleum of Constantine. The silence of the Greek versions of the *Catalogus sepulchrorum* makes it unlikely that it stood in either of the mausolea; that of Constantine, indeed, can be definitely excluded, since it was not in active use at the time. Presumably it stood in the main body of the church, but in view of the conflict between the sources it is impossible to say of what marble it consisted.

MAURICE (582–602). Deposed on 25 November (*correct*) by the tyrant Phocas and beheaded with his sons at the harbor of Eutropius (*correct*).⁸⁷ Buried in the sanctuary of the martyr St. Mamas which bears the name of Pharasmanes.⁸⁸ His wife Constantina . . .⁸⁹ He reigned 20 years.

PHOCAS (602–610). Put to death on 1 October (*rectè 5 October*) by Heraclius. His body was burnt in the Forum Tauri (*correct*) and the ashes thrown into a common grave in the Pelagion (*unconfirmed, but probable*). He reigned 8 years.

⁸⁰ *Justinus, qui dictus est Bicancius*. This nickname does not appear in the regular sources.

⁸¹ *Chron. Pasch.*, a. 578 (p. 689).

⁸² She was still alive in March 601 (*supra*, p. 31, note 108).

⁸³ Her tomb, also of white Proconnesian marble, faced that of Justin across the eastern arm of the cross of the mausoleum, their relative positions being given by Mesarites. Leo Grammaticus (p. 136) and Cedrenus (ii. 686) mention the white marble tombs of husband and wife.

⁸⁴ *Chron. Pasch.*, a. 582 (p. 690).

⁸⁵ Theophanes, A.M. 6085 (p. 271).

⁸⁶ Cedrenus, i. 691.

⁸⁷ The uprising in Constantinople against Maurice broke out on the 22nd, he fled with his family on the night of the 22nd/23rd, Phocas was crowned on the 23rd in the Hebdomon and paraded the city in triumph on the 25th, and Maurice and his sons were murdered on the 27th (*Chron. Pasch.*, a. 602; pp. 693–4; Theophanes, A.M. 6094; pp. 289–90; the heading to Book XIII of the *Registrum* of Gregory the Great (MGH, *Epist.*, ii. 364–5) gives the date and place of the coronation and the names of Maurice's sons). The *Chronicon Paschale* simply says that the Emperor and his family were put to death at Chalcedon, but Theophanes and other sources mention the Eutropian harbor.

⁸⁸ The *Faras manus* of the *Necrologium* is a rendering of Φαρσμάνης, that of the founder of the monastery, which was apparently enlarged and further endowed by Gordia, a sister of Maurice (Janin, *Les églises et les monastères*, p. 326). For the burial of Maurice and his family in the monastery, see the further details in the *Catalogus sepulchrorum*, ii. 42 (Bonn ed., i. 647); Πάτρια, iii. 185 (ed. Preger, ii. 274); Leo Grammaticus, pp. 144–5; Cedrenus, i. 706–8. The last two give the metrical epitaph which accompanied the tomb of Constantina and which is reprinted by Cougny in *Epigrammatum Anthologia Palatina*, 3 (Paris, 1890), 214–5 (*Appendix nova*, ii, 732). For the transfer of three sarcophagi from St. Mamas to the Myrelaion, see *supra*, p. 28.

⁸⁹ The original text probably went on to say that she was buried in the same church.

According to the *Chronicon Paschale*, Phocas was executed on 6 October, it being the second day of the week.⁹⁰ The 6th, however, was a Tuesday, and the sequence of events following the arrival of Heraclius on the 3rd⁹¹ indicates that the correct date was Monday, 5 October. The date in the *Necrologium* must be a copyist's error. The Pelagion was a recognized place of burial for executed criminals. The bodies of the ex-Patriarch Constantine and Peter the Stylite were disposed of there after their execution by Constantine V.⁹²

HERACLIUS (610–641). Died 11 January (*unconfirmed, but acceptable*) of the disease of brikia (i.e. βρέξις), in other words dysentery (*really dropsy*), and was buried in a block of white Proconnesian marble (*nearly correct*) in the mausoleum of Justinian (*correct*) in the church of the Holy Apostles. His wife Eudocia is buried in another tomb (*correct*).⁹³ He reigned 30 years.

The two chief sources for the date of Heraclius' death are Nicephorus and Theophanes. Nicephorus says that he died after a reign of 30 years 4 months 6 days,⁹⁴ which, reckoning from 5 October 610, would work out at 11 February 641. Theophanes places the event sometime in March, after a reign of 30 years 10 months.⁹⁵ The last two dates are in themselves contradictory, for a reign from October 610 to March 641 would be one of only 30 years 5 months, and the emendation of ι' to ε' is not a very satisfactory one. The date implied by Nicephorus is consequently the one generally accepted by scholars.

The text of the *Catalogus* raises another possibility. The day of the month is the same as that given by Nicephorus, but the month is different. The usual error is forward where the kalends are concerned but backward for the nones and ides. A scribe reading a date such as *x kal. Aug.* would forget to make the adjustment for July and reproduce it as 23 August, but if he read *iv non. Aug.* or *v. id. Aug.*, he might insert an uncalled-for adjustment and reproduce it as 2 or 9 July. It seems likely that what has happened here is that the date was *iii id. Ian.*, i.e. 11 January, but that Nicephorus mistakenly adjusted forward and gave 11 February. The date given in the *Catalogus* for Heraclius Constantine's death supports this view, for it fits in with 11 January as the date of Heraclius' death but not with 11 February, and so does the most probable emendation of the erroneous 30 years 10 months of Theophanes, for if we read γ' instead of ι' we arrive at 30 years 3 months, i.e. January 641.

There is a slight divergence between the *Catalogus sepulchorum* and the *Necrologium* regarding the material of Heraclius' tomb, the one describing it as "white Docimian, onyx," the other as "white Proconnesian." Docimian stone was normally variegated,⁹⁶ while Proconnesian was white. Presumably the tomb was made of an unusual variety of Docimian, but its color led the compiler of the *Necrologium* to equate it with ordinary white marble.

CONSTANTINE III (i.e. Heraclius Constantine) (641), son of Heraclius. Died 20 April (*unconfirmed, but probable*), and was buried in a block of white Proconnesian marble (*correct*) in the church of the Holy Apostles, where his father Heraclius is also buried. His

⁹⁰ *Chron. Pasch.*, a. 610 (pp. 699–701). The horrid details tended to multiply with the passage of time—or perhaps only varied with the taste of the chronicler; cf. Nicephorus, pp. 4–5, with Cedrenus, ii. 713.

⁹¹ Theophanes, A.M. 6102 (p. 298), places the arrival of Heraclius on the 4th, but the *Chronicon Paschale* is a contemporary and very reliable source.

⁹² Theophanes, A.M. 6259 (p. 442; cf. also pp. 420, 437).

⁹³ *Supra*, p. 31, note 112.

⁹⁴ Nicephorus, p. 27. Nicephorus adds the curious detail that the tomb was left open, by the Emperor's orders, for three days after his burial. Did his fear of being buried alive result from a knowledge of the story of Zeno's fate, or did it give rise to this? The account is repeated by most of the later writers, so it was evidently unusual and not a regular part of the funeral ceremonies.

⁹⁵ Theophanes, A.M. 6132 (p. 341). Cedrenus, ii. 752, gives the date as 11 March, while repeating at the same time the manifestly erroneous figure of 30 years 10 months for the length of the reign.

⁹⁶ Strabo, viii. 12. 14; ix. 5. 16.

wife Gregoria,⁹⁷ daughter of the patrician Nicetas, was alive at the time (*unconfirmed*). He reigned 120 days (*rectè 103 days*).

There is no other source giving the exact date of Heraclius Constantine's death, but Nicephorus gives the length of the reign as 103 days,⁹⁸ and modern scholars, reckoning it from the supposed date of Heraclius' death on 11 February, generally give it as 24, 25, or 26 May.⁹⁹ If we calculate from 11 January to 20 April, however, including both the first and last days as the Byzantines frequently did, we have a total of 100 days, which is so close to Nicephorus' figure that it seems likely that it is correct. The figure 120 would then be a scribal error—πκ' for πγ'. Nicephorus' figure is written out in words, which increases the likelihood of its being correct.

*CONSTANS II (Constantine) (641–668).*¹⁰⁰ Died 5 November (*incorrect*) by violence at Syracuse, a city of Sicily (*correct*), and was buried in the monastery of St. Gregory in the same city. He reigned 20 years (*rectè 27 years*).

The complications arising from the fact that Heraclius' son (Heraclius Constantine), grandson (Constans II) and great-grandson (Constantine IV) were all named Constantine have been already alluded to. The date of Constans' murder at Syracuse can be fixed as 15 July 668. The date is given by no known Greek source, but the *Vita Vitaliani* in the *Liber Pontificalis*¹⁰¹ dates it 15 July of the second indiction, i.e. 669, and though the last is evidently a slip—it must have been the first indiction—the author is so well informed about Constans' doings in the west that 15 July can hardly be an error. Most modern authorities¹⁰² reject it, however, and date the murder in September or October, their grounds being that the acts of the sixth General Council (680–1) are all dated in Constantine IV's 26th year—or rather his 26th post-consulship—and that this must consequently have started between 16 September and 7 November 668.

These two dates, however, those of the murder of Constans II and the accession of Constantine IV, are not the same thing. Regnal years were chiefly important for the dating of documents, and these would have continued to be dated by the regnal years of Constans II until the news of his death reached the capital. It would only have created confusion if Constantine IV had then tried to back-date his accession to the day of his father's death. The obvious solution was to start the reign, from the technical, legal point of view, on the day of his proclamation at Constantinople as sole Augustus,¹⁰³ and travelling was so irregular even during the summer—July and August are the months of the Etesian winds—that this may well not have taken place till the autumn. There is, therefore, no serious objection to accepting the date 15 July 668 as that of the death of Constans II.

This does not explain why the *Necrologium* should give 5 November. It is scarcely likely that it can represent the date of Constantine IV's formal accession, for, although it would be compatible with the date formulae of the Council of 680–1, one can scarcely suppose that the news of Con-

⁹⁷ Her name appears in the MSS as *Glygoria*, which Cessi wrongly amends to *Glyceria*. The correct form Gregoria (Γρηγορία) is given in Nicephorus, pp. 9, 21. Some later historians call her Anastasia (e.g. Leo Grammaticus, pp. 155–6) and record her burial beside her husband, but this is due to a confusion between the tombs of Constantine III and Constantine IV.

⁹⁸ Nicephorus, p. 29. For other figures, see J. Kaestner, *De imperio Constantini III* (Jena diss. Leipzig, 1907), 27–8.

⁹⁹ The variations depend partly on uncertainties as to whether to place Heraclius' death on 11 February or a day or two later and whether to begin counting with the last day of the preceding reign or the first of the new one.

¹⁰⁰ He is wrongly described as *filius Eraclii, nepos Pogonatis*; cf. *supra*, p. 32.

¹⁰¹ Ed. L. Duchesne, 1 (Paris, 1886), p. 344.

¹⁰² Except Duchesne (*loc. cit.*), and Grégoire "Notules épigraphiques. I. Une inscription au nom de Constantin III, ou la liquidation des partis à Byzance," *Byzantion*, 13 (1938), 167–70, where he argues against Brooks (*infra*, note 105) that Constantine IV really undertook an expedition to Sicily after his accession.

¹⁰³ Cf. the prolongation of Constantine the Great's "reign" after his death on 22 May 337 to the proclamation of his sons as Augusti on 9 September, though the reason for this was different.

stans' murder would have taken nearly four months¹⁰⁴ to reach Constantinople from Sicily at a relatively favorable time of year. If it were true that Constantine IV brought back his father's body from Sicily for burial at Constantinople, one might perhaps assume that it was the date of the funeral, but Theophanes' account of the expedition of Constantine IV in the autumn of 668 appears to be mythical,¹⁰⁵ and there seems little reason to accept the statement of Cedrenus that the body of Constans II was recovered and buried in the same tomb as his father.¹⁰⁶ The probability is that he was buried, as the *Necrologium* alleges, at Syracuse,¹⁰⁷ and the date 5 November must be left unexplained.

The *Catalogus sepulchrorum* records in the mausoleum of Constantine the presence of the tomb of Fausta, wife of Constans II, of green Thessalian marble. This is the only evidence regarding her name that we possess.

CONSTANTINE IV (668–685).¹⁰⁸ Died on 10 July (*unconfirmed*), and was buried with his wife Anastasia (*correct*)¹⁰⁹ in a block of Thessalian marble in the mausoleum of Justinian (*correct*) in the church of the Holy Apostles. He reigned 17 years.

Constantine's death is usually placed in September 685 on the ground that the sources attribute to him a reign of 17 years,¹¹⁰ which is reckoned from his supposed accession in September 668. Since such a figure can be taken only as a round number, there is no objection to accepting the date 10 July given by the *Catalogus*.

Anastasia long outlived her husband, since she was still alive in 711, when her son Justinian II was put to death.¹¹¹

JUSTINIAN II (685–695, 705–711) Rhinotmetos (*nasu trunco*). Died on 24 November (*more probably 4 November*), having been deposed by Leontius and subsequently restored to the throne. He was killed at Damatra by Elias, a citizen of Cherson (*correct*), and his body was thrown into the sea.¹¹² He reigned with his wife Anastasia (*incorrect*) 16 years (i.e. *not counting his period of exile as part of his reign*).

The only indication of the date of Justinian's death given in published sources is the statement in the *Liber Pontificalis* that the news arrived in Rome three months after the return of Pope Constantine from Constantinople. Since the latter event is dated precisely as 24 October of the

¹⁰⁴ This was quite possible in winter. The Emperor Maurice was murdered on 27 November 602, but Pope Gregory I was still writing as if he were alive in February 603, and it was not till 25 April that Phocas was formally proclaimed Emperor at Rome and the pope wrote to congratulate him on his accession (*Registrum*, xiii. 26; xiii. 1, 34; MGH, *Epist.*, ii. 391–2; 364–5, 396–7). The journey in summer should have taken between one and two months according to the chances of the weather.

¹⁰⁵ Theophanes, A.M. 6160 (p. 352), and derivative sources. Cf. E. W. Brooks, "The Sicilian Expedition of Constantine IV," *Byz. Zeitschrift*, 17 (1908), 455–9.

¹⁰⁶ Cedrenus, i. 763: he was buried μετὰ Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ. The confusion in the *Catalogus* regarding the identities of the various Constantines is so great that no serious argument can be based on its statements.

¹⁰⁷ The existence of a monastery of St. Gregory at Syracuse seems unknown to the Italian records, but the Saracen occupation of Sicily meant the end of so many ecclesiastical establishments that this need occasion no surprise.

¹⁰⁸ He is described, quite wrongly, as *filius Pogonis*; cf. *supra*, p. 32.

¹⁰⁹ The burial of Constantine and Anastasia together in a single tomb in the mausoleum of Justinian is recorded by Leo Grammaticus, pp. 155–6, though he—or rather his source, Symeon Logothete—assumes that the "Constantine" in question is the son of Heraclius. Elsewhere (p. 162) he identifies the Emperor correctly and records that the tomb was of Thessalian marble. Cedrenus, ii. 753, makes the same error as Leo Grammaticus, but locates the tomb simply in the church of the Holy Apostles, without specifying the mausoleum of Justinian. Nicephorus (p. 36), a better source than either, alludes to the burial of Constantine IV in the church, but does not mention his wife.

¹¹⁰ E.g. Theophanes, A.M. 6161, 6177 (pp. 352, 361).

¹¹¹ *Infra*, note 117.

¹¹² Theophanes, A.M. 6203 (pp. 380–1) and Nicephorus (p. 47) record simply that Justinian was beheaded and his head sent round the provinces as proof that the tyrant was dead. His son Tiberius, who was murdered in the church of Blachernae, was buried in that of SS. Cosmas and Damian (*supra*, p. 33, note 120).

tenth indiction, i.e. 711, the news must have arrived towards the end of January 712.¹¹³ Travel in winter was so irregular that this would be compatible with Justinian's death any time in October¹¹⁴ or November, so that the date given here would be acceptable, but it seems that the original Greek text read 4 November, not 24 November.^{114a} The date 11 December sometimes given in modern works is without justification.

Justinian married first a certain Eudocia,¹¹⁵ who evidently died before 695 and was buried separately in the mausoleum of Justinian, and subsequently the sister of the Khazar Khan, who was appropriately baptized under the name of Theodora and who is several times mentioned in the sources.¹¹⁶ The confusion of Theodora with Anastasia in the *Necrologium* may be due to the fact that it was Justinian's mother Anastasia who endeavored vainly to save the life of his son Tiberius during the massacre of 711,¹¹⁷ but it is equally possible that we have to do with a scribal error, the end of the entry for Constantine IV (*cum uxore sua Anastasia. Regnavit ann. 17*) being accidentally repeated for Justinian II. In the latter event, the length of reign would involve an error of 1 year, i.e. 16 instead of 17 years.

LEONTIUS (695–698). Died on 15 February (*unconfirmed, but acceptable*), being put to death by Justinian together with Apsimar.¹¹⁸ Their bodies were thrown into the sea, but were recovered and buried in a church on the island of Protê (*unconfirmed, but acceptable*). He reigned 3 years.

Justinian's restoration in 705 took place, if the next entry is correct, on 21 August, and it is usually assumed that the famous scene in the Hippodrome and the subsequent execution of Leontius and Tiberius Apsimar¹¹⁹ followed almost immediately. But Tiberius had escaped from the city and was not immediately captured; so it may well be that the humiliation of the two usurpers was reserved for the usual consular games in January. Their execution therefore may well have taken place in February 706.

TIBERIUS APSIMAR (698–705). Deposed on 21 August (*unconfirmed, but acceptable*) by Justinian II and slain in the Hippodrome¹²⁰ in company with Leontius. Their bodies were thrown into the sea, but were recovered and buried on the island of Protê (*unconfirmed, but acceptable*). He reigned 7 years.

We have no statement in the existing sources as to the precise length of Tiberius II's reign or the date of Justinian II's restoration. The latter is generally placed in the summer of 705; so 21 August has every appearance of being correct.

PHILIPPICUS BARDANES¹²¹ (711–714). Died on 20 January (*unconfirmed, but acceptable*), having been blinded by Theodore the Patrician and Theodore the Strategos (*incorrect*).¹²²

¹¹³ *Vita Constantini*, chap. 7. 8, in Duchesne, *Liber Pontificalis*, i. 391.

¹¹⁴ Nicephorus also refers to an event early in October as shortly preceding Justinian's downfall (p. 45).

^{114a} See *infra*, Additional Note, p. 62.

¹¹⁵ *Supra*, p. 32, note 117.

¹¹⁶ E.g. Theophanes, A.M. 6196, 6198 (pp. 373, 375); Nicephorus, pp. 40, 41, 43.

¹¹⁷ Theophanes, A.M. 6203 (p. 380). According to Zonaras, xiv. 25. 27 (Bonn ed., iii. 242), Tiberius' mother Theodora was already dead, but this may be merely a deduction for the fact that it was Anastasia and not Theodora who tried to save the boy's life. If she died before Justinian it is difficult to explain why no tomb for her is recorded.

¹¹⁸ The grammar is imperfect, but this is the sense.

¹¹⁹ Theophanes, A.M. 6198 (p. 375); Nicephorus, p. 42.

¹²⁰ Not quite correct. Both Theophanes and Nicephorus state that after the scene in the Hippodrome they were subsequently put to death in the Cynegion.

¹²¹ Spelt *Guardarius* in the Latin text, the *r* being a copyist's error and the *gu* the *v* of the Armenian *Vardan*.

¹²² The blinding was carried out as the result of a conspiracy between the patrician George Boraphus, Count of the Opsician theme, and the patrician Theodore (Theophanes, A.M. 6205; p. 383; Nicephorus, p. 49).

Buried in the monastery of Dalmatoi (*unconfirmed, but acceptable*).¹²³ He reigned 1 year and a half (*incorrect*).

The blinding of Philippicus was carried out on the day before Whitsunday, A.M. 6205. It is, consequently, usually given as 3 June 713. Theophanes, however, fixes the length of the reign as 2 years 9 months,¹²⁴ which would put Philippicus' deposition well into 714.¹²⁵ Since the *Anno Mundi* dating of Theophanes is very uncertain at this period, it is more likely that the correct date was the Saturday in Whitsun week of 714, i.e. 26 May, and that the 2 years 9 months was not reckoned from the death of Justinian II—this would be only 2 years 6 months—but from the date when Philippicus was hailed as emperor at Kherson earlier in the summer. On this supposition, the revolt of the army would have occurred towards the end of August.

ANASTASIUS II (ARTEMIUS) (714–715). Deposed 1 June (*probably correct*) by Theodosius III of Adramyttium, and exiled to Salonika (*correct*), but subsequently beheaded by Leo III¹²⁶ (*correct*).¹²⁷ His body was later brought to Constantinople by the Empress Irene, and buried in a tomb of green marble in the mausoleum of Justinian, in the church of the Holy Apostles (*correct*). He reigned 2 years.

The length of Anastasius' reign is given by Theophanes as 1 year 3 months,¹²⁸ which, reckoning from 26 May 714, would place his deposition about August or September 715. A possible explanation is that 1 June is really the date of Anastasius' death, not his deposition.¹²⁹

This is the only source that gives the name of Anastasius' wife,¹³⁰ though the *Catalogus sepulchrorum* records her burial as well as that of her husband in the mausoleum.

THEODOSIUS III (715–716) of Adramyttium. Deposed on 24 July (*incorrect*) by Leo¹³¹ the Isaurian and tonsured in company with his son. The latter became bishop of Ephesus, and when he (Theodosius) died he was buried in the church of St. Philip, in the old city by the harbor, where miracles were performed at his tomb. He reigned 1 year.

Theophanes reckoned the precise length of Leo the Isaurian's reign as 24 years 2 months 25 days, from 25 March of the fifteenth indiction to 18 June of the ninth indiction.¹³² Such a date for the beginning of the reign, whether one takes it as 25 March 716 or 25 March 717, disagrees with that of 27 July which is given here. It is generally assumed that 25 March marks the entry of Leo into Constantinople and his formal crowning,¹³³ but it is not impossible that the reign was dated from his being hailed as emperor by the troops, and that 24 July was that of the abdication of Theodosius III and Leo's occupation of the capital.

¹²³ Justinian had been confined in the Dalmatoi monastery in 695, and so had Leontius in 698 (Nicephorus, p. 40). Janin (*op. cit.*, p. 87) notes that at this period it was apparently regarded as a suitable place of detention for politicians who had fallen into disgrace.

¹²⁴ A.M. 6207 (p. 386).

¹²⁵ Nicephorus (p. 49) places it in the second year of his reign, which is to some extent confirmed by the fact that no coins later than Year II have been recorded.

¹²⁶ *a Leo* (sic!) *sabro*, i. e. *Savro*, "the Isaurian."

¹²⁷ Theophanes, A.M. 6211 (p. 400); Nicephorus, pp. 55–6. Anastasius had been enticed into assuming the leadership of a revolt against Leo. He was beheaded in the Cynegion after being exhibited in the Hippodrome.

¹²⁸ A.M. 6207 (p. 386).

¹²⁹ It is possible, indeed, that this is intended by the somewhat erratic grammar of the text, the first part of the sentence being a subordinate clause, as the scribe of one of the MSS evidently first took it to be. Nicephorus seems to imply, however, that the execution of Anastasius occurred only very shortly before the crowning of Constantine V as co-emperor on Easter Day (25 March) 720.

¹³⁰ The *Necrologium*, it is true, does not say positively that the Empress Irene who secured his burial was his wife, but it is reasonable to assume that this is what is intended.

¹³¹ *Leontius* in the MS.

¹³² Theophanes, A.M. 6232 (p. 412). This figure seems preferable to the 25 years 3 months 14 days given in the *Chronographia* attributed to Nicephorus (ed. de Boor, p. 100), but that such divergent figures should be given by usually reliable sources makes it clear that Byzantine historians in the ninth century were themselves very inadequately informed on the matter.

¹³³ Nicephorus (p. 52) describes the event but gives no date.

Theophanes notes simply that Theodosius and his son abdicated and entered the Church,¹³⁴ but Cedrenus declares that they retired to Ephesus and that when the ex-Emperor died he was buried in the church of St. Philip, where miracles were said to be worked at his tomb, which bore the odd inscription "Health" (ΥΓΕΙΑ).¹³⁵ The *Necrologium*, however, is correct in saying that the son became bishop of Ephesus, for as "Theodosius of Ephesus, son of Apsimar" he presided over the Iconoclastic Synod of Constantinople held in 754¹³⁶ and for this offence was anathematized by the assembled Fathers at the Seventh Oecumenical Council in 787.¹³⁷

LEO III THE ISAURIAN (716–741). Died 18 July (*rectè* 18 June),¹³⁸ having reigned with Theodosius,¹³⁹ and was buried in a block of white Proconnesian marble in the church of the Holy Apostles (*correct*).¹⁴⁰ He reigned with his wife Maria¹⁴¹ for 23 years.

CONSTANTINE V (741–775), known as Caballinus or Copronymus. Died on 14 September (*correct*).¹⁴² He denied the Son of God and destroyed His icon and burnt many images. He was buried in a tomb of Thessalian marble in the church of the Holy Apostles (*correct*). Later his body and sarcophagus were ejected from the church by the Empress Theodora on the advice of the Patriarch Methodius (843–7) and burnt in the square which is known as the Amastrian (*Mastrianum*, i.e. Ἀμαστριανόν), since he had burnt the relics (*lipsana*, i.e. λείψανα) and images of many saints, and the ashes were cast into the sea. His three wives He reigned 24 years (*error for* 34).

The story of the destruction of the remains is given slightly differently in the various sources.¹⁴³ The *Catalogus sepulchrorum* does not mention Methodius, the destruction being attributed to Michael and Theodora; the body was burned, and the sarcophagus was broken up and used in the construction of the church of the Pharos. Cedrenus attributes it to Michael acting on the advice of the Caesar Bardas, and mentions the burning of the bones in the Amastrian Square, but he says nothing of the fate of the sarcophagus.¹⁴⁴ On one point of detail Cedrenus must be correct as against the *Necrologium*. Although one is naturally tempted to attribute such an event to the year of the restoration of images, and therefore to the patriarchate of Methodius (843–7), it cannot have taken place so early, for the *Vita Ignatii* records that after the Council of 861 the endeavors to make Ignatius subscribe his abdication included his being stretched out on the sarcophagus of Constantine V in the mausoleum of Constantine with heavy weights tied to his ankles.¹⁴⁵ Since the church of the Pharos was completed and consecrated while Bardas was

¹³⁴ Theophanes, A.M. 6208 (p. 390).

¹³⁵ Cedrenus, i. 787–8.

¹³⁶ Theophanes, A.M. 6245 (p. 427).

¹³⁷ Mansi, *Conc.*, xiii. 400, 416. Cf. M. Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, I (Paris, 1740), 683–4. It is not quite clear, from either Cedrenus or the *Necrologium*, whether it was the father or the son who was buried in St. Philip's, but even if one admits that the tomb's reputation probably rested upon its inscription rather than its contents, one hesitates to allow that the latter can have been an Iconoclast bishop.

¹³⁸ Theophanes, A.M. 6232 (p. 412) gives 18 June, and it is clear that one or the other has made a slip. Since the Venetian text has two "July" entries following one another and the chronology of Theophanes at this period is detailed and carefully worked out, it is the latter that must be followed.

¹³⁹ This alludes to the fact that the two reigns overlapped for some months, while Leo was in revolt against his predecessor.

¹⁴⁰ His burial in the church is noted by Leo Grammaticus, p. 180, and Cedrenus, i. 802.

¹⁴¹ Probably the words have been displaced, and should be understood to mean that Maria—her name is independently attested, (e.g. Theophanes, A.M. 6211; p. 400)—was buried in the same tomb as her husband, for no separate tomb is mentioned for her in the *Catalogus sepulchrorum*.

¹⁴² Theophanes, A.M. 6267 (p. 448).

¹⁴³ Cf. C. Mango, *The Homilies of Photius, Patriarch of Constantinople* (Cambridge, Mass., 1958), 180–1. The confusion created by the phrasing of the *Catalogus*, which wrongly implies that the sarcophagus was still in the mausoleum in the tenth century, has been noted *supra*, p. 34.

¹⁴⁴ Cedrenus, ii. 18, going back to Symeon the Logothete (Mango, *op. cit.*, p. 180, note 23).

¹⁴⁵ *Vita Ignatii*, in PG, 105, col. 521, whence Genesis, p. 100.

Caesar,¹⁴⁶ i.e. between 12 April 864 and 21 April 866, Constantine's remains and his sarcophagus must have been destroyed between 861 and 866 and probably—since the church seems to have been dedicated in 864—between 861 and 864.

The phrase regarding Constantine's three wives, as it stands in the text, implies either that he burnt them as well as the relics and images or that their bodies were ejected from the church at the same time as his, but it must be a detached part of a sentence which probably went on to say that they were buried separately. The tombs of two of them are listed in the *Catalogus sepulchrorum*.¹⁴⁷

LEO IV (775–780), known as the Khazar. Died 8 September (*correct*),¹⁴⁸ and was buried with his wife Irene (*incorrect*)¹⁴⁹ in a white sarcophagus (*correct*) in the church of the Holy Apostles. He reigned 6 years.

CONSTANTINE VI (780–797). Deposed and blinded by his mother Irene on 10 November (*incorrect, but explicable*). He died many years later (*exaggerated*),¹⁵⁰ and was buried on the island of Prinkipo (*incorrect, but explicable*). His second wife's name was Theodora (*rectè Theodota*). He reigned 6 years (*i.e. alone*).

Constantine was blinded on 19 August 797, not 10 November; the latter date, but in 790, was that of the coup d'état by which Constantine himself threw off his mother's yoke and became for a time his own master. The chronology is not easy to work out, since Theophanes' dates are inadequate and self-contradictory, but the *Chronographia* ascribed to Nicephorus provides a sequence of figures which allows one to ascertain the truth.¹⁵¹ Its lengths of reigns,¹⁵² when reckoned from the date of the death of Leo IV (8 September 780), give the following results:

	YEARS	MONTHS	DAYS	FROM 8 SEPT. 780
Constantine and Irene	10	2	2	10 Nov. 790
Constantine alone ¹⁵³	6	9	8	18 Aug. 797 (rectè 19 Aug.)
Irene alone	5	2	12	30 Oct. 802

Theophanes gives no precise date for the fall of Irene in 790,¹⁵⁴ but the date 10 November 790 implied by the *Chronographia* is now confirmed by the *Necrologium*. For the blinding of Constantine, Theophanes gives Saturday, the 15th "of the same month,"¹⁵⁵ which should, strictly speaking, be July, since the last event referred to had occurred on Wednesday 17 (?) July,¹⁵⁶

¹⁴⁶ Mango, *op. cit.*, pp. 177–80, summarizing arguments set out at greater length in R. J. H. Jenkins and C. A. Mango, "The Date and Significance of the Tenth Homily of Photius," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 9–10 (1956), 123–40.

¹⁴⁷ *Supra*, p. 34.

¹⁴⁸ Theophanes, A.M. 6272 (p. 453).

¹⁴⁹ See *infra*, "Irene."

¹⁵⁰ He was already dead in 806 (E. W. Brooks, "On the Date of the Death of Constantine the Son of Irene," *Byz. Zeitschrift*, 9 (1900), 654–7, on the evidence of a letter of Theodore of Studium which must have been written before this date).

¹⁵¹ The essential discussion is that of Brooks, *art. cit.*, pp. 656–7.

¹⁵² Bonn ed., p. 753; ed. de Boor, p. 100.

¹⁵³ Constantine's "sole reign" from 790 to 797 is somewhat of an exaggeration, for Irene was restored to favor on 15 January 792 (Theophanes, A.M. 6284; p. 467), and she appears on the coins throughout the reign. But he was no longer technically a minor, and Irene no longer regent. Many Byzantine sources (e.g. Cedrenus) give Constantine a second series of regnal years dating from 790.

¹⁵⁴ All he says is that the revolt against Irene's dominance broke out in September and spread to the capital in October, when Irene was confined to her palace of Eleutherius on the Sea of Marmara (Theophanes, A.M. 6283; pp. 465–7). Evidently 10 November 790 marked the formal ending of the regency, though in law it should have ended long before, since Constantine was born on 14 January 771 (*ibid.*, A.M. 6262; p. 445).

¹⁵⁵ Theophanes, A.M. 6289 (p. 472). De Boor amends the αὐτοῦ of the MSS to Αὐγούστου, but a simple oversight on the part of the writer seems more likely.

¹⁵⁶ 17 July was a Monday. It is not clear how the date should be amended. July 15th was in fact a Saturday, and it may well be that this is the source of Theophanes' errors.

but must in fact be August.¹⁵⁷ The 15th of August, however, was a Tuesday. Since an error in the day of the week is hardly likely, while 1θ' could easily be miscopied as 1ε', it is reasonable to fix the blinding on the night of 18th–19th August.

According to the *Catalogus sepulchrorum*, Constantine was buried in the monastery of the Lady Euphrosyne, in company with his first wife Maria¹⁵⁸ and his daughters Irene and Euphrosyne (second wife of Michael II), in a tomb of Bithynian marble.¹⁵⁹ He was, therefore, buried in Constantinople, although he had been exiled to Prinkipo and presumably died there.

IRENE (797–802). Deposed on 30 October (*correct*)¹⁶⁰ and exiled to Lesbos, which is Mytilene, where she died (*correct*). Later she was buried in a convent which she had founded on the island of Prinkipo (*correct*).¹⁶¹ She reigned 1 year 2 months (*rectè 5 years 2 months, as is given by one MS*).

NICEPHORUS I (802–811). Killed in battle in Bulgaria by the Bulgarian khan Krum on 25 July (*on the night of the 25th/26th*);¹⁶² his skull was removed and the remainder of his body was burnt (*correct*). His wife was Procopia¹⁶³ (*incorrect. Procopia was the daughter of Nicephorus and the wife of Michael I*). He reigned 8 years.

STAUracIUS (811). Died on 20 October (*rectè 11 January*), having become a monk; he was buried in the monastery called Stauracium (*correct*).¹⁶⁴ His wife was Theophano (*correct*). He reigned a year and a half (*incorrect*).

Stauracius was deposed and tonsured on 2 October 811 and died on 11 January 812.¹⁶⁵ These dates are recorded by Theophanes, who was writing at the time and must be regarded as an unimpeachable witness.¹⁶⁶ The date 20 October must be an error for the date of his deposition, β' (= 2) having been misread as κ' (= 20).

MICHAEL I (811–813). Died 8 October (*incorrect*), having been deposed by Leo I and compelled to become a monk on the island of Platê, where he lies buried (*correct*). His wife was Procopia (*correct*). He reigned 2 years.

¹⁵⁷ That the event took place on a Saturday and in August may be considered certain, since contemporaries were quick to seize upon the coincidence that only five years before Constantine had himself ordered the blinding or mutilation of his uncles on a Saturday in August (Theophanes, A.M. 6284; p. 468).

¹⁵⁸ Maria of Alania had been compelled to take the veil in January 795 (Theophanes, A.M. 6287; p. 469), and the thirteenth century *Synopsis Chronike* of Theodore Scutariotes in K. N. Sathas, Μεσαιωνική Βιβλιοθήκη, VII (Paris, 1894), 128, gives the name of the monastery to which she retired as τῶν Δεσποινῶν. Janin, *op. cit.*, pp. 92–3, suggests that this may have been identical with the Μονὴ τῶν Δεσποτῶν in which the widow of Leo V was interned by Michael II in 821, but the fact that Maria was buried in the μονὴ τῆς Κυρᾶς Εὐφροσύνης (cf. Janin, pp. 137–8) makes it more likely that the latter is meant.

¹⁵⁹ Genesius, p. 35, says that Constantine was given an imperial funeral: ὁ τοῦδε νεκρὸς ἐν τινὶ κατετέθη σορῶ τότε τῶν ἐν τῇ βασιλευσούσῃ σεμνείων. Brooks took this to mean that he was buried with previous emperors in the church of the Holy Apostles, which is not correct.

¹⁶⁰ More precisely in the early hours of the 31st (Theophanes, A.M. 6295; p. 476).

¹⁶¹ She was brought first to Prinkipo and then to Lesbos, where she died on 9 August 803, but her body was brought back to Prinkipo for burial (Theophanes, A.M. 6295; pp. 478, 479, 480).

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, a. 6303 (pp. 490–1). The Emperor's severed head was exhibited for some days on a pole, and then stripped of its flesh and the skull converted into a drinking bowl.

¹⁶³ One MS has *Preconia*. The name of Nicephorus I's wife is unknown; she probably died before his accession, as she is not mentioned in the records of his reign.

¹⁶⁴ Theophanes, A.M. 6304 (p. 495): his widow founded the monastery after his death. On the name, see J. B. Bury, *A History of the Eastern Roman Empire* (London, 1912), p. 21, note 3, and Janin, *op. cit.*, pp. 486–7.

¹⁶⁵ Theophanes, A.M. 6304 (pp. 493, 495).

¹⁶⁶ The date of deposition also accords with the length of Michael I's reign, 1 year 9 months 11 days, as given by the *Chronographia* attributed to Nicephorus (ed. de Boor, p. 101). The length of Stauracius' reign is given wrongly in a number of Byzantine sources—e.g. as 1 year 2 months by Leo Grammaticus (p. 207).

Once again there is a strange error in the date of death, for Michael was deposed on 11 July 813¹⁶⁷ and died many years later, as the monk Athanasius, on 11 January 844.¹⁶⁸ Once again, however, there was a reburial, for one of his sons, having become patriarch under the name of Ignatius, transferred his father's remains to the monastery of St. Michael which he had founded at Satyros, on the Bithynian shore opposite the Prince's islands.¹⁶⁹

LEO V (813–820), the Armenian. Murdered by Michael II in the palace on 25 December (*correct*), and buried on the island of Protê (*correct*)¹⁷⁰. He reigned 8 years.

MICHAEL II (820–829). Died on 2 October (*correct*), and was buried in the mausoleum of Justinian in a block of white Proconnesian stone (*incorrect*). His wife Maria was still alive, and reigned 9 days (*incorrect*). He reigned 8 years.

We have no authority other than this for the precise date of Michael's death, but the Continuator of Theophanes declares that Theophilus' reign began in October and implies that it was in the first few days of the month.¹⁷¹ The Continuator also notes that Michael II was buried in the mausoleum of Justinian, but that the tomb was of green Thessalian stone.¹⁷² The same is stated by the text of the *Catalogus sepulchrorum*, which alleges that Michael's (first) wife Thecla was buried separately in a tomb of Sagarian marble. Text C says Michael and Thecla were buried together in a tomb of Proconnesian marble, thus agreeing with the *Necrologium* on the kind of stone employed for Michael's tomb, but elsewhere it declares that "Michael the Amorian" was buried in the mausoleum of Constantine. Text R omits the whole entry.

The error of C in placing the tomb of "Michael the Amorian" in the mausoleum of Constantine has been explained *supra*.¹⁷³ The contradictions show that there must have been some difficulties over its identification, but it must be regarded as unlikely that any actual changes were made between the compilation of the various lists; a simple error in the *Necrologium* is a much more probable hypothesis.

A further complication is the phrase *vixit autem uxor eius Maria; regnavit dies ix*. Michael's second wife, who survived him, was named Euphrosyne, not Maria, and though his mother-in-law Maria, widow of Constantine VI, came to live in the Great Palace after her daughter's marriage, it is not easy to see why her name should have been introduced or a nine-day reign attributed to her. The latter indeed is probably no more than a detached part of an original computation of Michael II's own reign as 8 years 9 months 9 days,¹⁷⁴ and Maria a miscopying from some other entry.

THEOPHILUS (829–842). Died on 22 October (*incorrect*), and was buried with his wife Theodora (*incorrect*) in a block of Proconnesian marble (*incorrect*) in the mausoleum of Justinian (*correct*). Reigned 12 years.

¹⁶⁷ Theophanes, A.M. 6305 (p. 502).

¹⁶⁸ *Cont. Theoph.*, Bonn ed., pp. 19–20. The year is given as ,στβ', i.e. A.M. 6302, which is impossible by any computation. A figure has dropped out between the τ and the β, as has happened in another date on the same page. The date should be restored as ,στ<v>β', i.e. A.M. 6352 (A.D. 844) in view of the statement on the same page that the Emperor survived his deposition by 32 years (counting inclusively from 813). Bury (*op. cit.*, p. 30, note 2) incorrectly proposed to read the date as A.M. 6332 by the Alexandrian era, i.e. A.D. 840.

¹⁶⁹ *Cont. Theoph.*, pp. 20–1. Cf. Bury, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

¹⁷⁰ The phrase in the text reads *sepultura eius non est effecta, sed secundum compositionem sepultus est in insula Proti*. The first part presumably alludes to the exposure of his body in the Hippodrome, before his widow Theodosia and her children were permitted to carry it to their place of exile (Genesius, p. 26: *Cont. Theoph.*, pp. 40–1). His four sons were mutilated, and one of them died in consequence and was buried in the same tomb as his father. The Empress was subsequently confined in the monastery known as τὸν Δεσποτῶν (*Cont. Theoph.*, p. 46; cf. Janin, *op. cit.*, p. 93, though its identification with the one where Maria of Alania had been confined is doubtful). Cf. *supra*, p. 33, note 119.

¹⁷¹ *Cont. Theoph.*, p. 84.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 84, whence Cedrenus, ii. 99.

¹⁷³ *Supra*, p. 10.

¹⁷⁴ So the *Chronographia* attributed to Nicephorus (ed. de Boor, p. 101).

Theophilus died on 20 January 842,¹⁷⁵ and there seems no way of accounting for the error in the text. Theodora, whose role in the restoration of images earned her the title of saint, died many years after her husband, shortly after the accession of Basil in 867.¹⁷⁶ She is commemorated in the Greek Church on 11 February, but this is not necessarily the day of her death. She was in any case not buried with Theophilus, but with her daughters and other relations in the monastery of Gastria.¹⁷⁷ The statement that the tomb of Theophilus was of Proconnesian marble contradicts that of the *Catalogus sepulchrorum* to the effect that it was of green stone, for Proconnesian marble was white, and in view of the other errors in the *Necrologium* the testimony of the *Catalogus* is to be preferred.

MICHAEL III (842–867). Murdered 24 September (*correct*) in the Palace of St. Mamas (*correct*),¹⁷⁸ and buried in the monastery of Philippicus in Chrysopolis¹⁷⁹ (*correct*). Later his body was brought back to Constantinople and buried in the church of the Holy Apostles (*correct*) in a block of Proconnesian marble (*probably correct*). His wife Eudocia with her mother He reigned 26 years.

The account of Michael's murder given by the Continuator of Theophanes and related sources does not mention his burial, but the first entry under Leo VI records how this Emperor brought the body back from Chrysopolis—the monastery of Philippicus is not mentioned—and interred it in the church of the Holy Apostles.¹⁸⁰ The minor contradictions in the sources regarding the tomb he used—it was that which had previously housed the bodies of Justin I and Euphemia in the monastery of the Augusta—have been discussed already under Justin I. The reference to Eudocia and her mother probably goes back to the statement in some of the sources that after Michael's murder his wife Eudocia was sent back to her parents.¹⁸¹

BASIL I (867–886). Died 19 August (*error for 29 August*),¹⁸² and was buried in a block of Thessalian marble (*correct*) in the mausoleum of Constantine (*correct*) with his wife Eudocia (*correct*). He reigned 19 years.

[**LEO VI (886–912).** This Emperor's name has been accidentally omitted in the *Necrologium*. He died 11 May 912,¹⁸³ and was buried in the mausoleum of Constantine in a sarcophagus of some stone which was evidently difficult to identify, for L terms it "Sagarian or *pneumonousian*," C "Sagarian," and R "Sagarian *phlegmenousian*" (? flame colored). The phrase "Sagarian or *pneumonousian*" is also used to describe the sarcophagus of Irene, daughter of the Caesar Bardas, in the monastery of Gastria,¹⁸⁴ so it is evidently not a mistake.]

¹⁷⁵ *Cont. Theoph.*, p. 139, agreeing roughly with the statement there that his reign lasted 12 years 3 months, and precisely with that of the *Chronographia* attributed to Nicephorus which gives 12 years 3 months 20 days (ed. de Boor, p. 101). The burial of Theophilus' "accursed body" in the church of the Holy Apostles is noted by Leo Grammaticus, p. 228.

¹⁷⁶ So Cedrenus, ii. 182.

¹⁷⁷ *Supra*, p. 27, note 85.

¹⁷⁸ The phrase is not very intelligible as printed by Cessi: *interfectus est Michael imperator apud . . . iacentibus sibi militibus, in procensu sancti martyris Mamantis*. The words *apud iacentibus* (there is no lacuna between them in the MSS) are, as Prof. R. J. H. Jenkins points out to me, a mistake for *ab adiacentibus*. Cf. *Theoph. Cont.*, p. 254; διὰ τῶν προκοιτούντων . . . στρατιωτῶν, ἐν τοῖς παλατίοις τοῦ ἀγίου μάρτυρος Μάμαντος ἀναιροῦσιν αὐτόν.

¹⁷⁹ This monastery was founded by Philippicus, brother-in-law of the Emperor Maurice, who was buried there (Nicephorus, p. 7).

¹⁸⁰ *Cont. Theoph.*, pp. 210, 353. It is noted on both occasions by Leo Grammaticus, pp. 252, 262–3.

¹⁸¹ Pseudo-Symeon, iv. 48 (Bonn ed., p. 686).

¹⁸² *Const. Porphy.*, *De Ceremon.*, ii. 52 (Bonn ed., i. 780). The day is written out in full; so the error is probably in the *Necrologium*.

¹⁸³ *Cont. Theoph.*, p. 377; Leo Grammaticus, p. 285.

¹⁸⁴ *De Ceremon.*, ii. 42 (p. 648).

ALEXANDER (912–913). Died 6 June (*correct*), and was buried in the same sarcophagus as his father Basil and his mother Eudocia (*correct*).¹⁸⁵ He reigned 23 years (*error for 13 months*).

CONSTANTINE VII (913–959) Porphyrogenitus. Died 19 November (*perhaps correct*), and was buried in a marble tomb in the mausoleum of Constantine (*but perhaps not separately from his father*). He reigned 47 years.

The date of Constantine's death is usually given as 9 November on the authority of Cedrenus.¹⁸⁶ There must be a copyist's error in either the text of Cedrenus—or rather in that of Scylitzes, whom Cedrenus is copying—or here, and since a figure is more likely to have dropped out than to have been inserted, it would be reasonable, other things being equal, to prefer the 19th. But the 9th would fit in with the length of 3 years 4 months 5 days¹⁸⁷ attributed to the reign of Romanus II; to make it the 19th would mean altering this figure to 3 years 3 months 25 days. Such an error seems unlikely, but since George Monachus gives 3 years 3 months 5 days¹⁸⁸ for the reign it cannot be excluded. The date must therefore be regarded as uncertain.

Constantine VII was first buried in his father's sarcophagus,¹⁸⁹ his graceless son having apparently appropriated the sarcophagus he had prepared for himself. The *Necrologium* attributes to him a separate tomb, and so does Mesarites. It is possible, as Downey argues,¹⁹⁰ that he was later buried separately, thus repeating what had occurred in the case of Theodosius II.¹⁹¹ It is equally possible, however, that the *Necrologium* and Mesarites may have inadvertently attributed to Constantine VII the tomb really belonging to Constantine the son of Basil, which is listed separately in the *Catalogus*.

The tombs and obits of Romanus I and his family are omitted from the *Necrologium*, as are the tombs from the *Catalogus*. They have already been discussed.¹⁹²

ROMANUS II (959–963). Died 15 March (*correct*),¹⁹³ and was buried in the mausoleum of Constantine (*correct*) in a tomb of white stone, without carving, which his father had caused to be made (*unconfirmed, but probable*).¹⁹⁴ He reigned 4 years.

BASIL II (963–1025). Reigned for 62 years, with his brother Constantine, first with his mother Theophano; he reigned with Nicephorus Phocas for 7 years and John Zimisces for 7 years, and finally alone (*i.e. his brother Constantine being a cipher*) for 48 years. He conquered Crete, Bari, Calabria, Antioch, Tarsus, Syria, and many other cities, and God granted him many victories. He died on 13 December (*rectè 15 December*), and was buried in the church of St. John the Evangelist in the Hebdomon (*correct*).¹⁹⁵

CONSTANTINE VIII (1025–1028). Died in November (*rectè 12 November*)¹⁹⁶ and was buried in a marble block in the church of the Holy Apostles (*correct*). He reigned 3 years, and

¹⁸⁵ *Cont. Theoph.*, p. 380, and Leo Grammaticus, p. 288, both also noting that Alexander was buried in the same tomb as his father. Pseudo-Symeon gives the incorrect figure of 1 year 29 days for his length of reign (p. 715).

¹⁸⁶ Bonn ed., ii. 337. Leo Diaconus, p. 5, simply places it in November. The *Cont. Theoph.*, pp. 468–9, and George Monachus, p. 756 (from the same source) give 15 November, which would be preferable if it were not for the reasons given in the text.

¹⁸⁷ Cedrenus, ii. 345; through a slip he has written 13 for 3.

¹⁸⁸ George Monachus, p. 756.

¹⁸⁹ So the *Catalogus*, text L, confirmed by *Cont. Theoph.*, p. 468.

¹⁹⁰ "The Tombs of the Byzantine Emperors," 34, note on no. 10.

¹⁹¹ *Supra*, p. 43.

¹⁹² *Supra*, pp. 28–29. Cf. also Zonaras, xvi. 20. 16–22 (Bonn ed., iii, 481–2), on the fate of the family.

¹⁹³ Cedrenus, ii. 344.

¹⁹⁴ But see *supra*, p. 22.

¹⁹⁵ Cedrenus, ii. 479–80. His metrical epitaph is in Banduri, *Imperium orientale* (1680), I (i), 179–80; it is reprinted by Cougny, *Epigrammata nova*, ii. 740, in his *Epigrammatum Anthologia Palatina*, iii (1890), 216.

¹⁹⁶ Cedrenus, ii. 484. He fell ill on the 9th, and died 3 days later. Lupus Protospatharius (a. 1029), in MGH, *Script.*, v. 57) gives St. Martin's eve, which would be the 10th. His wife Helena died during his lifetime, but her place of burial is unrecorded.

before he died he transferred the empire to his daughter Zoe and her husband Romanus III (*correct*).

Constantine VIII, whose tomb stood in the middle of the mausoleum of Constantine away from the wall, was the last Byzantine Emperor to be buried in the church of the Holy Apostles.

ROMANUS III (1028–1034). Died on 11 April (*correct*)¹⁹⁷ in the bathroom at Blachernae (*not quite correct*),¹⁹⁸ and was buried in the monastery of St. Mary Peribleptos¹⁹⁹ (*correct*) which he himself had beautified (*correct*). He reigned 5 years.

MICHAEL IV (1034–1041). Died 13 November (*rectè 10 December*)²⁰⁰ and was buried in the monastic habit in a block of white marble in the monastery of the Holy Anargyroi which he had built outside the city (*correct*). He reigned 8 years.

MICHAEL V (1041–1042). On 20 April, while Michael Calaphates, nephew of the previous Michael, held the empire by the grace of the Augusta Zoe, who had raised him to this rank and adopted him as her son, he turned against his mistress and sent her into exile on the island of Protê. The Senate thereupon took counsel with Zoe's sister Theodora and, with the populace, raided and sacked the Palace. Michael fled to the monastery of St. John Baptist, but by order of Theodora and Zoe he was taken out and blinded and with his family was blotted out.²⁰¹ He reigned 4 months 30 days (*rectè 4 months 10 days*).

It is not clear to precisely which of these events the date 20 April is meant to refer, and it is not likely that a person writing about it a year or so later would have remembered them accurately. It is probable that the revolt broke out on the 19th, that Theodora was proclaimed Augusta on the 20th, and that the blinding of Michael was carried out on the 21st.²⁰²

The entry under Michael V is the last of the series which begins with an *obit* or date of deposition, and that under Constantine IX was clearly written while this monarch was on the throne. The length of his reign (12 years 8 months)²⁰³ and his burial in the church of St. George the Martyr at Mangana²⁰⁴ were evidently added later. The entries for the remainder of the eleventh century unfortunately give no dates, and the lengths of reigns appear only in round numbers—2 years, 8 years, 4 years 3 months, and so on. There are, none the less, a few details of interest.

¹⁹⁷ Cedrenus, ii. 505, gives Holy Thursday, 15 April, but these dates do not agree, since Easter fell on the 14th. MS Coislin 136 of Cedrenus, however, gives the 11th, which is evidently correct; it is confirmed by Lupus Protospatharius, a. 1034 (SS., v. 58), and Psellus, *Chron.*, iii. 26, likewise says that it occurred on Holy Thursday. It was generally believed that Romanus' death was not an accident or the consequence of his illness, but that he was murdered while taking his bath.

¹⁹⁸ Cedrenus, i. 505, and Psellus, iii. 26 (ed. Renauld, I, p. 51), make it clear that the murder took place in the bath of the Great Palace, not in that of Blachernae.

¹⁹⁹ *In monasterio Sancte Marie Triantafelici*. This unusual name for the Peribleptos comes from Triakontaphyllos, the name of the man from whom Romanus III bought the site on which to found the monastery (Janin, *op. cit.*, p. 227).

²⁰⁰ Cedrenus, ii. 533; the day is written out in full; so it is unlikely to be wrong. There seems to be no explanation for the divergence between the two dates. It cannot be that one was the date of his abdication and the other that of his death, for Psellus tells us that he died on the same day that he received the tonsure (*Chron.*, iv. 55). He was buried very simply, close to the altar on the left-hand side as one entered the church.

²⁰¹ ... *et cum progenie sua funditus est deletus*. This phrase is merely rhetorical. Michael V had no children. His uncle John the Orphanotrophos was blinded at the same time as himself, and he had himself caused many of his relatives to be mutilated.

²⁰² There is a careful discussion of the chronology in H. Mädlar, *Theodora, Michael Stratiotikos, Isaak Komnenos* (Leipzig diss. Plauen-i.-V., 1894), 2–3. The other sources make it clear that Theodora alone, and not Theodora and Zoe jointly, was responsible for the order that the deposed Emperor should be blinded.

²⁰³ Actually 12 years 7 months (11 June 1042–11 January 1055).

²⁰⁴ So also Cedrenus, ii. 610. For his benefactions to this church, see *ibid.*, pp. 608–9.

1. Michael VI is normally termed *Stratioticus* by the Byzantine historians, but this was only a nickname and none of them gives his family name, presumably because this was not of any consequence.²⁰⁵ The *Catalogue* terms him Michael *Briucas*, this evidently representing *Bringas* (Βρίγγας), an appellation found also in Lupus Protospatharius.²⁰⁶ Ducange is no doubt right in linking him with the Joseph Bringas who had played a prominent part in events of a hundred years before, during the brief reign of Romanus II.²⁰⁷

2. The length of reign attributed to Romanus IV Diogenes (1067–71) is 4 years 3 months, which perhaps settles the date of his surrender to Michael VII, followed by his blinding and death. The figure cannot be reckoned from his accession (1 January 1068) to the battle of Manzikert (19 August 1071), which was only 3 years 9 months, and though most modern authors have dated his downfall to the spring of 1072, the chronology of Attaleiates is so obscure²⁰⁸ that some scholars have postponed his death to 1073.

3. Michael VII is rather misleadingly said to be buried *in monasterio Hemanuelis*; this was the monastery of Manuel, founded by a *magister* of this name in the ninth century, to which the Emperor retired after being nominated metropolitan of Ephesus, an office which he made no serious attempt to occupy.²⁰⁹

From Alexius Comnenus onwards the *Necrologium* ceases to be a translation of a Greek original, the continuations having been written during the period of the Latin empire. They have, none the less, a certain independent value of their own, as has been shown *supra* (pp. 14–15).

²⁰⁵ Later Byzantine sources sometimes called him "Michael the Aged," Μιχαήλ ὁ Γέρων (e.g. the *Synopsis Chronike* of Theodore Scutariotes in K. N. Sathas, *Μεσαιωνική Βιβλιοθήκη*, VII [Paris, 1894], 163), but this was making a nickname out of what was only an adjective sometimes rather emphatically used (Psellus, *Chron.*, vii. 43).

²⁰⁶ Lupus, a. 1057, 1059 (SS., v. 59).

²⁰⁷ *Fam. Byzant.*, p. 123.

²⁰⁸ Attaleiates, Bonn ed., pp. 168–79.

²⁰⁹ Janin, *op. cit.*, p. 332 and note 5.

ADDITIONAL NOTE ON THE TOMBS AND OBITS OF THE BYZANTINE EMPERORS

CYRIL MANGO and IHOR ŠEVČENKO

Mr. Philip Grierson is to be congratulated for having discovered among the medley of material contained in the *Chronicon Altiante* an important source for the history of the Byzantine emperors. The relevant section of this Chronicle is the one that Mr. Grierson has christened the *Necrologium imperatorum*;¹ as he points out, it occurs in manuscripts of only the thirteenth century and later. Since it is obvious at first glance that the *Necrologium* represents a translation of a Greek text, we are faced with the problem of identifying this text.

Mr. Grierson has already gone a long way towards solving this problem. He points out that the *Necrologium*, far from being a uniform text, is made up of five distinct sections compiled at different times, namely: *I*. From Julius Caesar to either Diocletian or Constantius Chlorus; *II*. From Constantine I to Romanus I; *III*. From Basil II to Constantine IX; *IV*. From Theodora to Alexius I; *V*. From Manuel I to either Henry I or Baldwin II of Courtenay. It is sections II and III that are of most interest. In the following remarks, however, we shall confine ourselves to section II.

The peculiarity of the *Necrologium* is that, in addition to giving the length of each emperor's reign, it combines information on the circumstances of the death or deposition of each emperor with an account of his place of burial. No Byzantine text of this particular nature has been known until now. Yet such a text did exist in the hitherto lost chapter 42 of Book II of the *De Cerimoniis*. In the preserved index of Book II (Bonn ed., p. 513) it is entitled: 'Υπόμνημα ἐν συντόμῳ τῶν βασιλευσάντων βασιλέων ἐν τῇδε τῇ μεγάλῃ καὶ εὐτυχιστάτῃ Κωνσταντινουπόλει ἀπὸ τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ εὐσεβεστάτου καὶ ἁγίου Κωνσταντίνου. In the *Lipsiensis Rep. i. 17*, on which our edition of the *De Cerimoniis* is exclusively based, chapter 42 is missing, along with the greater part of the preceding chapter.

Two years ago we reported on the discovery of a palimpsest manuscript of the *De Cerimoniis* in the Library of the Oecumenical Patriarchate at Istanbul.² This palimpsest, *cod. Chalcensis S. Trinitatis* (125) 133, contains, as we have pointed out, three folios pertaining to chapter 42. These are now numbered 126, 212, and 214 bis. The names of the emperors are written in the margin and are easily decipherable. Folio 212 covers the period from Leo I (only the end of the entry being preserved) to Phocas; folio 214 bis, which in the original manuscript came immediately after folio 212, from Phocas to Tiberius Apsimar; and folio

¹ *Origo civitatum Italiae seu Venetiarum*, ed. R. Cessi, Fonti per la storia d'Italia (Rome, 1933), 102 ff.

² *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 14 (1960), 247-9.

126 from Leo VI (only the end of the entry being preserved) to Romanus II, apparently the last emperor of whom there was an account. Originally, chapter 42 probably occupied about six folios, if we allow for one folio to cover the period from Constantine I to Zeno, and two more from Tiberius Apsimar to Alexander.

Our first observation, therefore, is that chapter 42 of the *De Cerimoniis* dealt with precisely the same period as Section II of the *Necrologium*. The decipherment of the palimpsest is, unfortunately, of the utmost difficulty and will require a long time even under the most favorable conditions. But even the few lines we have been able to read so far make it clear that we have before us a text that bears a close analogy to the *Necrologium*, as the following examples will show:

Fol. 212^r, lines 1–2 (end of entry for Leo I): ... καὶ Βηρίνης τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ· ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη ...—Cf. *Necrologium*, p. 106₅: ... *Veneria, uxor eius. regnavit ann. XVIII.*

Fol. 212^r, lines 26–28—fol. 212^v, line 1 (Justinian I): ... ἀποστόλων ἐν τῷ ... ὠκοδόμησεν ... ὁστρίτη ἡγουν βυθινῶ· οὐ μετὰ Θεοδώρας τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ ... Cf. *Necrologium*, p. 106₂₆: ... *in templo Sanctorum Apostolorum, in magno sepulchro, quod ipse composuit et hedicavit, in labro lapideo, qui dicitur iritionos, bithinio. non cum coniuge sua Theodora*

Fol. 212^v, lines 26–28—fol. 214 bis^r, line 1 (Phocas): ... (βο)ὸς ἀγορᾶ καὶ ἡ τέφρα αὐτοῦ ἐρρίφη εἰς τὸν ξενοτάφιν τοῦ Πελαγίου· γυνὴ αὐτοῦ Λεοντία· ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη ὀκτώ. Cf. *Necrologium*, p. 107₁₈: ... *et corpus illius incensum est in platea bovum, et cinis eius proiectus est in sepultura morientium in pelago. regnavit ann. VIII.* Note that the *Necrologium* omits mentioning Phocas' wife Leontia.

Fol. 214 bis^r, line 27–214 bis^v, line 2 (Constantine IV and Justinian II): ... ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη ιζ'. νοεμβρίῳ δ' ἐτελεύτησεν Ἰουστινιανὸς ὁ ῥινότμητος ἐκβληθεὶς πρότερον τῆς βασιλείας παρὰ Λεοντίου ... Cf. *Necrologium*, p. 108₈: *regnavit ann. XVII. Mense novembris, die XXIII,³ defunctus est Iustinianus imperator nasu trunco, qui antea eiectus est ex imperio e Leontio ...*

Fol. 214 bis^v, lines 27–28: ... καὶ Ἀψίμαρος καὶ ὁ Ἰουστινιανὸς ἀλλὰ ῥιφέντες ὡς προεῖρηται ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ ἀγνοίᾳ τὴν ταφὴν No corresponding passage in the *Necrologium*.

Fol. 126^r, line 1 (Leo VI): ... σαγαρηνοῦ τοῦ καλουμένου πνευμονουσίου· ἐβασίλευσεν Cf. *De Cer.*, p. 643₆. No corresponding passage in the *Necrologium* which lacks the entry for Leo VI.

Fol. 126^r, lines 26–28—126^v, line 1 (Constantine VII): ... ἐξελθὼν γὰρ κατὰ τὴν λ' σепτεμβρίου μηνὸς τῆς αὐτῆς τρίτης Ἰνδίκτου εἰς τὸ τοῦ Ὀλύμπου ὄρος τοὺς ἐκεῖσε κατόψεσθαι μοναχοὺς, νόσφ' ληφθεὶς ἐν τῇ No corresponding passage in the *Necrologium*, but cf. Theoph. Cont., Bonn ed., p. 463f.; Cedrenus, II, p. 337.

The above confrontation has shown that, whereas in some cases the texts of chapters 42 of the *De Cerimoniis* and of the *Necrologium* are identical, the

³ November 4 is perhaps preferable to November 24 as the date of Justinian II's death. Cf. Grierson's comments, *supra*, p. 50f.

latter omits certain passages that appear in the former. We have found no instance in which the Latin text differs from the Greek other than by omission or scribal error. To account for this relationship, we would be inclined to postulate the existence of at least one lost Greek intermediary between the two texts. Chapter 42 could have been detached from the Book of Ceremonies in much the same way as the list of imperial tombs (Bonn ed., pp. 642-9: this is really chapter 43, but Reiske numbers it 42) also circulated separately and became appended to Recension C of the *Patria*. In its detached form, chapter 42 appears to have been abbreviated in parts, but also received several accretions bringing it down eventually to the time of the Latin Empire of Constantinople. It was, most probably, such a text that was translated into lamentable Latin and eventually incorporated into the *Chronicon Altiante*.

Mr. Grierson is very nearly right when he writes that "Section II [of the *Necrologium*] is a learned compilation which must be associated with the movement of historical research that characterized the later years of the reign of Constantine VII" (*supra*, p. 16). As we have seen, chapter 42 describes the death of Constantine VII, but seems not to have gone beyond Romanus II.

The dependence of the *Necrologium* upon a chapter of the *De Cerimoniis* naturally enhances the historical authority of this document, whose value has been established by Mr. Grierson by means of other criteria, namely a detailed analysis of its contents. Conversely, the *Necrologium* will assist scholars to reconstruct a missing part of the *De Cerimoniis* and to read some parts of the palimpsest. Thus, to give two examples, with the help of the Latin text (p. 108₁₃₋₁₆: . . . *corpus eius proiectum est in mari. regnavit cum Anastasia, uxore eius, ann. XVI. Mense februarii, die XV, defunctus est Leoncius imperator violenti morte per Iustinianum naso trunco et Absimario* . . .), it is possible to conjecture in folio 214 bis^v, lines 4-9: (τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ) ἐρρίφη ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ. γυνὴ αὐτοῦ σία. ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη 15'. φευρουαρ ἐτελεύτησεν Λεόντιος ὁ βασιλε(ὺς) 'Ιουστινιανοῦ τοῦ ῥινομήτου μετὰ (καί) 'Αψιμά With the help of p. 108₂₂₋₂₃ (*sepulta sunt in insula Proti. regnavit ann. VII.*), one can surely read in folio 214 bis^v, lines 17-18: ἐτέθησαν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ τῇ καλουμένη Πρώτῃ. ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη 7'. But even if it eventually proves possible to decipher fully the three folios of chapter 42 contained in the Constantinopolitan codex, the remainder of the chapter will be known to us—barring further discoveries—only through its Latin version.